National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XVII. NO. 32. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1856. WHOLE NO. 864.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, 138 Nassau St., New York,

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

31 *North Fifth St., Philadelphia.*

Advertisements inserted at $1 per square for the first insertion, and 25 cents for every subsequent one. For advertisements less than a square, 50 cents for each insertion.

NORRIS & JOHNSTON, PRINTERS.

Selections.

A MAGNIFICENT SLAVE-PEN.

HOW THEY SUPPRESS SERVILE INSURRECTIONS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

BY A FORMER CITIZEN OF CHARLESTON.

To the Editors of The Evening Post.

In the outskirts of the city of Charleston, to the west, there rises a building of gigantic proportions, which, viewed from a distance, the stranger might mistake for a castle. It covers more than an acre of ground, is built of brick and stone, and coated with brown mortar, which in the clear atmosphere adds a singular boldness to its outlines. In form square, its high, castellated walls, its suspicious-looking port-holes, its turrets and watch-towers and well-towers, on a nearer view, give out strong evidence of its being a fort—in other words, a means to arming the fears of the community. Its position, however, at once divests you of the idea that it was built as a means of defending the city from the attacks of an enemy from without. We will tell you, reader, that it is neither a fort nor a castle; it is simply the "Charleston Workhouse"—a municipal slave-pen—grand and imposing without, and full of bleeding hearts within. It was built by the city, at an enormous expense. The design was suggested by one Ledgre Hutchinson, a gentleman of fine taste, who had travelled much in Europe, where he conceived the plan of fashioning this municipal slave-pen after a celebrated castle on the Rhine. Mr. Hutchinson being several times elected Mayor of the city of Charleston, inaugurated one of his terms by introducing a proposal to build this magnificent institution, the policy of which was, at that time, considered too extravagant to be taken into serious consideration. This gave rise to a strong opposition. The question became one of parties. "Young Charleston" went for it; "Old Charleston" opposed it. The necessity for such a building was agreed upon various grounds, one of which was, that it would supply a place of refuge as well as a defence for the inhabitants of the city, in the event of an insurrection among the slaves. "Young Charleston" in time triumphed, and this castellated slave-pen—we can call it by no more appropriate name—was the result. Having viewed it from without, let us look within. You enter at the east front, through a massive Gothic door or gate, and find yourself in a spacious vestibule, with broad stairs leading to the right and left. Facing you in the vestibule, and inserted into the wall, are marble tablets, on which is inscribed, in bold lettering, the name of the architect and designer, the date of the laying of the corner stone, and sundry other things appertaining to the building. Having satisfied your curiosity over the inscriptions, you proceed through narrow passages, passing through the "Punishment Room" on one side, and the apartments of some of the officers on the other, and find yourself looking into a hollow square, surrounded by two or three tiers of galleries. There is a barrack-like appearance about these galleries, while the air of gloom that pervades all, excites strange fancies in one's mind. Returning to the vestibule, you can ascend the broad stairs to the first gallery, round which you may walk, looking into the squares upon the various apartments appropriated to the officers, &c., &c. Around these galleries are rows of small cells, about four feet six inches wide, seven feet long and as many high; in them slaves are confined. The "workhouse" answers a double purpose; those convicted of crimes to which the slave law makes them amenable, are sent here for punishment; slaves for sale are sent here for safe keeping, and for this their owners are charged seventeen cents a day, which includes the food—a peck of corn-grits per week. Slave "brokers," as well as dealers, passing through Charleston with their coffles, find this a convenient place to deposit their merchandise. Safety and economy, two desirable objects, are here nicely combined. The cells are without beds, and during the chilly Autumn nights much suffering to the human beings thus confined is a natural result. One warm blanket is considered a sufficient covering; and you not unfrequently see in the papers a notice from the "workhouse-keepers" to owners to provide blankets for their slaves, or it will be done by the institution and charged to them. This is strongly suggestive of the suffering to which these poor mortals are subjected. Under a former regime, in the days of the "old workhouse," it was customary to set slaves confined for crimes to work at breaking stones. For this purpose they were supplied with sharp-pointed hammers, with handles about four feet long. These hammers, during an attempt at insurrection, somewhat celebrated as being headed by the "Boy Nicholas," were turned into instruments of warfare; they were used with great effect, and made a weapon by which the police were twice repulsed. In one of these the mayor had his arm broken. Since that time the labour of breaking stone has been suspended. It may here be well to add that the people of Charleston live in continual fear of an uprising of the slaves, and keep in existence the most complete preparations for meeting such an event.

Having walked round the galleries, looked into the narrow pens that line their sides, and glanced at the area where dealers in slave merchandise exhibit their wares to purchasers, we will descend the stairs, turn short to the right, and enter a small dark room about sixteen feet square. We are in the "Punishment Room." Here ingenuity would seem to have exhausted itself in devising instruments of torture. We say torture—for when man is reduced to merchandise, submission must follow; and when every other means fail to produce it, torture is resorted to. In many instances the master, in sending his slave to be punished at the workhouse, seeks rather to excite terror than inflict pain. Hence the appearance of the "Punishment Room" is made a means to that end.

Fantastically-shaped caps for smothering the head; wooden instruments of various sizes, with flat blades from four to six inches wide, and handles three feet long, called paddles; broad leathern straps, ropes and cowhides—all hang here and there, suspended upon the walls. A block and tackle, similar to that used on shipboard, hangs suspended from the centre of the ceiling; while underneath a platform stretches across the the floor. Upon this platform the slave is made to stand, his feet being fast secured to it with cords. His wrists are then secured in a double shackle, to which the block is hooked on, and the victim being stripped and the cap drawn over his face, is hoisted to the utmost tension of his or her body. Some of these paddles have perforated blades, and when laid on the posteriors, as is customary, produce acute pain. By this somewhat refined process of punishment the "property" is saved that deterioration in value which results from lacerating the back with the whip or cowhide. Suspended in the manner here described, the paddle is laid on by the keeper of the institution, or one of his officers. The fees accruing from punishment are very considerable, and are part of the perquisites of the keeper.

Powerless, but writhing in the agony of his pain, the cries of the sufferer not unfrequently break upon the ear, piercingly, outside the walls of the prison. As slaves vary in colour, from the fairest white down to the blackest ebony, so is one constitution more delicate than another. The more robust black can bear up longer under punishment than the "bright" or fair slave. In view of this, it is found necessary to adapt the size of the paddle, as well as the force of the blow, to the bearability of the constitution. It is not an uncommon thing that females, delicate, and fair of skin, are punished in this manner. If you be a transient visitor, the Charlestonian will tell you, with an air of sincerity, that females are not flogged by men. This, we assert, is false—a deception practised upon the stranger in order to shield themselves from the odium of the outrage. Female slaves are bound and suspended in the same manner as the males; the only difference being that of their garments, which are rolled up from behind, and secured about the waist with a strap. In the punishment of these delicately formed slaves great discretion is necessary; indeed in many instances spasms have been produced on the first stroke of the paddle. We remember to have had pointed out to us by an exkeeper of the "Upper Workhouse," a girl than whom none fairer walks Broadway, who was by her owner (a man of most dissolute habits) twice brought to the institution for punishment, and each time sunk into spasms under the first blow. The keeper—a man of good heart, and only forced by circumstances to accept a position that involved duties against which his better nature revolted—assured us that he appealed in vain to the owner of the girl, who stood by the while, not to attempt to inflict a punishment she was too delicate to withstand. This girl was the daughter of a "gentleman" belonging to one of the "first families of Charleston." That our friends there may not mistake us, we will here add that we refer to the girl Anna Wilson. The fastidious will, no doubt, say these things had better remain untold, for the motto now is: When chivalry speaks, let humanity be dumb!

Let us leave this castellated slave-pen (called by the facetious, "Hutchinson's Folly"), with its heart-sick victims, and its dungeons of torture, and wend our way to the great "Guard-House," a description of which we propose to give in our next. F. C. ADAMS.

THE MOVEMENT IN CONGRESS AGAINST THE SLAVE TRADE.

Correspondence of The Times.

WASHINGTON, Monday, Dec. 15, 1856.

The Etheridge and Orr resolutions, which passed the House to-day, possess more significance than appears on the surface. It has been understood for several days that the National Southern Democrats would introduce into the House some kind of a test question, which should show up the contemptible weakness, even under existing auspices, of the "divine right" slavery faction, in the slave States. It had not yet been decided how this should be done; but the plan itself got to the ears of the anti-Buchanan Know-Nothings, who resolved to make capital of it for themselves, and take the wind out of the sails of their rivals. Hence the resolution of the member from Tennessee, which fell like a thunderbolt upon the ears of Mr. Buchanan's friends in the House; and which would have been as fatal to their tactics as a defeat without a battle, but for the bungling manner in which it was framed, and the presence of mind displayed by Mr. Orr. It was, in substance, what the Democrats wanted; but they desired to bring the question forward themselves. The uninitiated were, of course, staggered; the *per se* immoral part of the resolution could not be subscribed to by those who had maintained, until within a month, that slavery is the highest possible blessing for the coloured race! Here was a quandary! But precisely out of this "nettle danger" Mr. Orr managed, with incomparable adroitness, to "pluck the flower safety." Mr. Etheridge's resolution was finally left to its fate, and those voted for or against it who would; but the instant it was disposed of, and the Southern Know-Nothings were preparing to chuckle over their apparently successful thimble-rigging, up sprang the member from South Carolina, and laid before the House an improvised anti-slavery platform, which the *whole South have resolved to maintain throughout Mr. Buchanan's Administration.** Regardless of theories, it sets forth the simple fact that the slave trade is "*unwise and inexpedient.*" A murmur of applause ran through the House as it was read. The elation of the Democrats was extreme, and the Southern Know-Nothings were equally crest-fallen. The ethical superfluity of Mr. Etheridge's resolution was manifested in an instant. No excuse existed for not adopting the last resolution which did not exist for the first; and those who could not subscribe to the latter were rejoiced at the opportunity of escaping from the enigmatical position into which they had been placed by the former. The *bona fide* pro-slavery strength was elicited and it consisted of SEVEN VOTES in the whole House of Representatives! The excitement with which the House broke up was intense. The proceedings of the day were regarded as a complete indorsement of the programme which is proposed by the incoming Administration, and as a bright augury of speedy return to quietude and good feeling on the subject of slavery. (!!)

From The Boston Telegraph.

It may be thought by some persons that the passage of the resolutions offered by Messrs. Etheridge and Orr is a fortunate thing, that it will tend to quiet agitation in favour of the legal reopening of the slave trade (it being already *illegally* reopened, with the connivance of the General Government). But we cannot regard it in this light. It is certain as anything can be that if, three weeks after the election of Franklin Pierce, a resolution had been offered in the House and Senate in favour of the inviolability of the Missouri Compromise, it would have been adopted by universal consent, if it had not been regarded as a work of supererogation as much as an endorsement of the Christian religion. Yet Pierce's first Congress repealed that Compromise, and the majority of the States and the electoral votes have been induced by false pretenses and party quarrels, nominally to approve that repeal. Carlyle says this, or something like it, that it is curious how long a rotten post will stand provided you do not shake it. The Missouri Compromise and the prohibition of the slave trade are, in the estimation of the slaveholders, rotten posts, which need only to be touched in order to be tumbled over. And it must be confessed that there was and is an element of rottenness in both of them, though they were and are on the whole useful barriers against the designs of the Slave Power. The element of rottenness in the Compromise was its origin, an iniquitous bargain by which a slave State was allowed to come into the Union, and the *seeming* guarantee it gave to the South that slavery might exist South of 36 30. The rotten element in the prohibition of the slave trade consists in the fact that that trade is no more iniquitous than the domestic trade; that the pirate who steals men and women from the African coast is no more guilty than the member of Congress who sends his slave from the breeding place in Virginia to the market in Louisianna; in short, that slavery and the slave trade are identical, and one cannot be condemned while the other is tolerated. The men who are now agitating for the reopening of the slave trade understand this very thoroughly; they see the false position they are placed in, and having made up their minds to maintain that slavery is right, they have no other logical alternative than to assert that the slave trade is right also.

Of course we are not to be understood as objecting to the course of the slaveholders in reopening the agitation on the slavery question. Whatever politicians resolve and re-resolve, or whatever may be the result of the Presidential elections, there can be no cessation of agitation in our national politics until the Slave Power is checked, and no stop to the moral movement, North and South, until slavery is abolished. It is sometimes said that the anti-slavery men are determined to "*Rule or Ruin.*" Omit the last two words, and you have the truth. They mean to "*Rule,*" or rather they know that their idea, the Brotherhood of the Human Race, will "rule," whatever men do to forward or to oppose it. We must look, therefore, with satisfaction upon the discussion in Congress as a sign of a new contest between ideas, a contest on which the ultra men of the South are on one side and the anti slavery men are on the other. The majority of those who voted yesterday in the House, including those who opened the subject, probably had no more sensible idea than that their resolution would quiet the agitation. Some of them, perhaps, thought that such an exhibition of magnanimity on the part of the South would blind the North to the new aggressions of slavery, such as the Supreme Court is now contemplating. It may do so for awhile, but not long. The friends of the slave trade will not rest quiet under this Congressional vote. They will agitate for a reversal of the decision, and need have no reason to despair of success. Let them do their worst. The repeal of the Missouri Restriction brought eleven States and thirteen hundred thousand voters into the Free State ranks, and the removal of the restrictions upon the slave trade will finish the work, and finally unite the North and put an end forever to the encroachments of the Slave Power.

From The Evening Post.

A BEGINNING.

Fifty-seven members of the House of Representatives, yesterday, voted against Mr. Etheridge's resolution condemning the slave trade as a horrid and inhuman traffic, and deprecating its revival as an offence against Christianity and civilization. Fifty-seven members are not prepared to say that the traffic is an inhuman and disgraceful one.

The vote for the resolution was one hundred and fifty-two, or a little less than three to one. There are some who regard this as a triumph for the cause of philanthropy and humanity; but have they considered whether there is any good reason for rejoicing? Have not the friends of the slave trade made what they may well regard as an auspicious beginning? If a vote had been taken on this question thirteen years since, when Mr. Tyler sent in his message against the slave trade, we doubt whether a single vote in either House would have been given against the resolution. Now we have fifty-seven members in that branch of the legislature in which the pro-slavery party has the least strength attempting to vote down a resolution expressive of the natural and generous detestation in which every heart, not hardened by custom or interest or some other cause, must hold the traffic in human beings. More than half of Mr. Buchanan's party in the House of Representatives registered their names against Mr. Etheridge's resolution.

It is true that some of them professed to vote against the resolution because it was unseasonable. We all know what that means. The Wilmot Proviso was at first opposed because it was unseasonable by members of Congress who afterwards opposed it because it was, as they said, unconstitutional and unjust to the South. The fifty-seven, in another session of Congress, will probably be bolder. What they now object to as ill-timed, they will then denounce as ill-grounded. The party formed for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise grew up from a small beginning—smaller than that of these friends of the slave trade. It was feeble at first—a few bold-faced leaders with a few hesitating and equivocating followers—yet it triumphed at last.

Instead, therefore, of regarding the vote of yesterday in the light in which some seem to regard it, as a final and decisive triumph of the right, we look upon it as the formation of a distinct party for the revival of the slave trade. Let such a resolution as that of Mr. Etheridge be brought forward in the next Congress, and the vote against it will be stronger, and the language of its adversaries more decided, than it was yesterday.

THE SLAVE INSURRECTIONS AT THE SOUTH.

IN TENNESSEE.

Special Despatch to The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Dec. 16, 1856.

The insurrectionary movement in Tennessee obtained more headway than is known to the public, important facts being suppressed in order to check the spread of the contagion and prevent the true condition of affairs from being understood elsewhere. Upward of sixty slaves in the iron works belonging to John Bell were implicated, and nine hung, four by the decision of a Court, and five by the mob. Mr. Bell was absent at the time, and is now detained from Washington owing to this cause. These slaves were treated with care and humanity, under strict directions from Mr. Bell, who habitually visited the works where they were employed, during the recesses of Congress. The movement was instigated under what seems an extraordinary delusion, but its design and the plan have been grossly exaggerated by those who inflicted the summary penalties, for which some of them may yet suffer before another tribunal when excitement has subsided.

From The Nashville Union.

Quite a panic has existed in parts of the State, for the last two weeks, growing out of some discovered plots for insurrection among the slaves. These discoveries have been made principally at the iron works and rolling mills in the Counties of Montgomery and Stewart, where there are very large bodies of slaves employed. There have been some discoveries made of the same character in several Counties in the western district and in the adjoining County of Sumner. Various and conflicting reports have reached us, the simple purport of which is that a number of the slaves at these different points had agreed among themselves to rise in a body, about Christmas, overpower the whites, and make their way to a free State. In Montgomery and Stewart several hundred negroes have been arrested and confined with a view of investigating the extent of their guilt. Vigilance committees, composed of the most intelligent and prudent citizens, organized by the respective communities, have been engaged in taking proof and trying the accused parties. By their order several have been hung, who were proven to have been the instigators and leaders of the plot. Two, we learn, were hung by the populace. Several suspicious white men, unknown to the community, and believed to have been tampering with the slaves, were lynched and driven off. Among the numerous rumours we have heard, unauthenticated, was one that a minister, proven to have been implicated, had been arrested; and another, that one of the party hung at Dover as a negro proved to be a white man in disguise. So much of what we have heard is unreliable that we have refrained from publishing it, hoping to be furnished with more authentic statements.

That there was cause for serious alarm in these communities is unquestionable, as the owners themselves, in most instances, arrested their slaves and suspended their iron operations at a heavy loss. We do not suppose that the great body of the slaves implicated in this matter ever did more than to give a tacit assent to the plans of the few vicious negroes who were taking the lead; and the majority of them, perhaps, if they had joined in an outbreak, would have done nothing more than made an effort to escape from their masters. The more vicious—few, we believe, in number—might have gone to the greater extremes of murder and destruction.

The alarm produced will serve the purpose of putting every community on guard, and preserving rigid discipline during the approaching holidays. The great danger from panics of this character is the extremes in summary punishment they are likely to produce, endangering the lives of the innocent with the guilty. The best of communities are likely to overleap the bounds of prudence at such times. We trust it may not be so in this instance.

The slave communities in the South are not only the happiest, but the most contented serf population in the world; and yet we are not surprised at the restlessness and insubordination that are being manifested among them. It is the legitimate consequence of certain political and social causes to which we have had frequent occasion to revert.

From The Clarksville Jeffersonian, Dec. 10.

The excitement in regard to the negroes has in a great measure subsided. The Vigilance Committee have been laboriously engaged the greater part of the week examining those implicated, and in some instances have inflicted well-deserved castigation upon parties implicated.

The report of the execution of the four negroes at Dover, mentioned in our last, was premature, though, since that time, six have been hung at Dover, and one at Dover Furnace.

In *The Nashville Gazette* of the 10th is this:

"A gentleman just arrived from Gallatin informs us that four male negroes are to be hung at that place to-day, on account of their connection with the slave revolt. A good many are still in custody there, awaiting examination. It is to be hoped that no violence will be done to any, unless their guilt is clearly proven."

The "Vigilance Committee" at Springfield, Tenn., publish a card in *The Nashville Banner*, dated Nov. 10, in which they say:

"A young man by the name of Felts (Thomas Felts, we believe), living in Logan County, Ky., near the neighbourhood of Dr. Conn, came to Springfield, Tenn., on the 6th inst., and told us that on the night previous, about midnight, himself and five other patrols unexpectedly came upon a collection of negroes—about one hundred in number—who were barbecueing about fifty carcasses, and that Col. Thomas H. Drane was making them an abolition speech; that some of the negroes fired upon the patrol, who fled a short distance, and turned and fired on about a dozen negroes, the remainder having dispersed. The patrol shot one negro in the arm, and captured ten. Drane made his escape. On the 6th inst. those captured negroes were sent to Russellville, Ky., to jail. This is about the substance of the story. We and others have publicly and privately spoken of it freely on the authority of Felts. We have recently learned, however, from various reliable sources in the neighbourhood of Dr. Conn, that this *whole story is a fabrication.* We, therefore, at once publish this statement, in justice to all parties concerned, and in order to disabuse the public mind in regard to this affair."

CINCINNATI, Saturday, Dec. 13, 1856.

A gentleman direct from Tennessee informed the editor of *The Evansville Journal*, on the 9th inst., that in the whole region, from Memphis, through Clarksville and Dover on the Cumberland River, the greatest alarm existed in regard to the movements of the negroes. The jails in all the Counties were crowded with the arrested blacks. The County Courts had assembled in each County, and vigilance committees and patrols had been appointed in each neighbourhood and township. Eight more negroes had been hung at Dover, making nineteen in all. No overt act had been committed, but the proof against them of insurrectionary designs, it is said, was conclusive.

CINCINNATI, Wednesday, Dec. 17, 1856.

The latest advices from Cumberland River state that twenty-five iron furnaces in that region have stopped operations, apprehending a negro insurrection.

GALLATIN, Tenn., Wednesday, Dec. 17, 1856.

Thirty negroes have been arrested here on suspicion of being concerned in the conspiracy. The citizens have appointed a committee to examine into the matter.

LOUISVILLE, Wednesday, Dec. 17, 1856.

The City Council of Clarkesville, Tenn., instructed the Recorder to notify ironmasters, and other owners of slaves, that no slave will be permitted to come to the city to remain more than two hours, unless accompanied by a respectable white person, under a penalty of twenty lashes. Slaves having wives and their masters' passes are exempted. Persons having slaves going to or from Christmas festivities are not to allow them to pass through Clarkesville, unless a respectable white person will keep them together, and not allow them to mingle with the negroes at Clarkesville.

From The St. Louis Democrat, Dec. 15.

The steamer Sallie West, from Nashville, yesterday, brings us the information that things were assuming the usual quiet appearance in the towns bordering the Tennessee, and also in the districts back from the river.

The slave excitement had almost entirely ceased, people's minds having become quite tranquilized, as they are convinced that danger of an insurrection had passed.

A passenger informs us that a white man, named Taylor, was hanged at Dover, on Wednesday, on presumptive evidence of having been engaged in exciting the slaves to a revolt, and that a number of citizens had started from Dover, on the night previous, in pursuit of two other white men, on whom suspicion rested. Six negroes were hung at Dover by the infuriated citizens.

From The Memphis Eagle, Dec. 11.

We learn from a gentleman just from the scene of action, that on Friday last four gallows were erected at Dover, and on Saturday four negroes were hung thereon. Some thirty or thirty-five slaves have been arrested at Gallatin, suspected of insurrectionary designs. Since their arrest some of them have confessed that they were concerned in the projected revolt. Ten negroes that were arrested at the Cumberland Iron Works having confessed that they were concerned in the plot, and detailed a horrible series of cruelties that they were to have perpetrated, have been hung. The people in that section are driving away the free negroes, leaving none, making all go. A negro preacher at Paducah, guilty of incendiary sermons, fled to Chicago (a fitting place), but if he ever puts his foot in Paducah again, he will be hung without judge or jury. All negro schools and churches have been closed, and notices given that no holiday will be allowed between Christmas and New Year's day. People are deserting plantations, and flocking into the towns, and everything is alarm and confusion. We advise every one to watch their negroes closely.

The Murfreesboro' *News* has the following item on the same subject: "On last Thursday evening there was some excitement in town, which increased after dark and continued throughout the next day. It was not caused by a resurrection nor an insurrection of the slaves, nor by any well grounded apprehension of either at this time, but by a self-constituted sort of Vigilance Committee or mob, that whipped, as we have been told, nearly every male free negro to be found in town, and ordered each one to leave the corporation and to return no more.

We apprehend that this latter proceeding has caused much if not all the excitement.

From The Sumner (Tenn.) Flag, Dec. 10.

Our town has presented one continued scene of excitement during the past week. A large number of our slaves have been arrested and brought before a Court of Enquiry, which has been in session from day to-day. Many important facts going to show a plot upon the part, of a portion, at least, of our slaves to rise, have been elicited by the examination. We are no alarmists, nor would we create any undue excitement. But we are free to confess, that from the examination that we have heard there is cause for alarm. That an insurrection has been talked about by our slaves there is no question. But whether there has been a regularly organized plan for rising inaugurated, we, from the examination that we have heard, have our doubts. But still we think there are sufficient facts elicited, going to show a design, upon the part of those who have been implicated in the plot, to do mischief which would justify a speedy proceeding, and, if necessary, a very summary punishment of those who have been engaged in the matter. A large number of our respectable citizens have taken the subject into hand and we feel every confidence that they will do what is right in the premises. But at the same time we feel that it is our duty as a public journalist to council moderation.

* * * * * * *

At a meeting of the citizens of Sumner County held at the Court-House, on Saturday, the 6th of December, 1856. Thomas C. Douglas, Wiley G. Douglas and L. B. Edwards were appointed Chairmen and Thomas T. T. Tabb, Sec'y.

The object of the meeting having been explained in very pertinent and appropriate remarks by Messrs. John W. Head and Houston Solomon, it was resolved, That the chairman appoint a committee of twelve to consider the developments of an insurrection elicited from some of the leaders thereof, and to draft resolutions by Monday next, 12 o'clock, when this meeting will meet again to receive or reject them, and to adopt some plan for the better security of the community. Whereupon the chairman appointed the following gentlemen the committee, viz.: Albert Franklin, Wm. Parker, Dr. James A. Blackmore, Dr. Raymond Head, J. Seawell Carr, Jos. Walton, Robt. Myers, John W. Head, M. S. Singleton, W. L. Baber, Dr. J. M. Porter and Leonidas Baker.

The meeting then adjourned to Monday next, 12 o'clock.

December 8th. A majority of the committee to whom was referred the subject of the present difficulties among the slaves, beg leave to report the following resolutions.

1. Resolved, That we have the clearest evidence that there was a contemplated insurrection among a portion of the slaves of our County; in this we all concur, and that the present investigation by which the plot has in part been unravelled and known to exist, be carefully prosecuted until the whole plan is fully developed, and that such an investigation be set on foot in the various civil districts of the County by the Magistrates thereof.

2. Resolved, That the various Magistrates of the County hand over the leaders of the conspiracy to a jury of twelve slaveholders of this County, appointed by this meeting, which jury shall try said slaves, and deal with them as the interest of the community may require; said jury to adopt such regulations it regard to the trial as they think proper.

3. Resolved, That each civil district in the County meet and organize a sufficient patrol or body of men, prepared for any emergency, whose duty it shall be to see that the negroes remain on their master's premises at night, and on the Sabbath, unless absent by written permission of the owners or hirer, designating the time they are to be absent, and the place they are to go. The said patrol also perform such other services as the safety and peace of the community may require, and this organization be kept up for thirty days.

4. Resolved, That in addition to the above regulations, each master patrol his own premises, see that his own slaves remain at home at night, and on the Sabbath; and that other negroes do not congregate with his.

5. Resolved, That no voluntary assemblages of negroes be permitted at night, or on the Sabbath, for any purpose, for twelve months to come.

6. Resolved, That during the Christmas holidays no slave be permitted to leave their master's premises, unless on business of the master or owner; and with his written permission, specifying the time, place and business.

7. Resolved, That all citizens be vigilant in seeing that the laws relative to slaves hiring their time, carrying arms, buying ardent spirits, assembling together, going off their master's premises, white men and free persons of colour talking to them in a manner calculated to excite discontent, trading with them, &c., are promptly executed.

8. Resolved, That we recommend that the law be vigorously enforced against free negroes, when found guilty of a violation of it; and that a vigilant watch be kept over their movements. Should any one or more of them in any community be a nuisance, then that community might take such steps in reference to them as it is regarded necessary for its peace and safety. No free person of colour shall remove to and settle in this County.

9. Resolved That there are persons in our midst who are selling liquor to slaves, in violation of the law, and we recommend all such to cease their traffic, and if not, they will be required to leave the County, or the severest penalties will be inflicted upon them.

On motion—Resolved, in addition, That no school be kept open for the education of negroes, whether free or slave.

Resolved, That if any of the jury of twelve appointed now, under the second resolution, should fail to act, that the President of the meeting supply their places by others and that we endorse all such appointments made by him.

Resolved, That the proceedings of the meeting be published in the *Sumner Flag*, *Union* and *American*, Nashville *Banner*, and the *Gazette*, and that a copy thereof be furnished to each Magistrate of the County.

Having appointed the jury of twelve in conformity with second resolution, the meeting adjourned.

THOS. C. DOUGLAS,
WILEY G. DOUGLAS,
THOS. T. T. TABB, Sec'y. L. B. EDWARDS.

At a meeting of the jury of twelve appointed by the meeting of citizens of Sumner County, held on Monday last. After organizing, it was

Resolved, That we do now adjourn to meet again on Monday next, at 10 o'clock, when we expect further developments will be made; and deeming it prudent to delay judgment of cases now on hand in order to elicit from them still further evidence against others; and that we recommend that every Magistrate continue the investigation, as we are satisfied of the necessity thereof. Also

Resolved, That the proceedings be published in the *Sumner Flag* of December 10. THOMAS T. T. TABB, Sec'y.

IN VIRGINIA.

Correspondence of The Baltimore Sun.

ALEXANDRIA, Va., Dec. 15, 1856.

Saturday night information reached the police of an assemblage of negroes at the place of the late Dr. Alexander, near Four Mile run, which, for some time, has been, as understood, in the occupancy and care of coloured people; and, it is said, telegraphic despatches were exchanged between the departments at Washington and the Mayor, and the Governor of Virginia. Two or three bodies of citizens, in patrol capacity, took as many different routes for survey. At a late hour one of the parties, about fifteen in number, reached Alexander's place, where they found some fifty coloured people, six of whom were women, with a fine supper, good drink and all the belongings of a conviviality which would have done credit to almost any festive scene of the kind. In the heighth of this jubilee—often tolerated in every County of the State—the sable sons of "Old Virginny" were surprised by the patrol, and twenty-eight of their number conveyed to the city. There was but one of the whole party who had a weapon of any kind, and that was a pistol. They were generally young, and without any leader. Their only offence consisted in the "unlawful assemblage," for which each of them were fined, under corporation law, $3 84, and ordered to receive, under the State law, fifteen lashes. Twenty-seven were, accordingly, whipped yesterday, and one, who had a fit, was excused. Nineteen paid the required fine, and nine remain in jail in default thereof.

The Mayor renewed the order to prevent night meetings of coloured people for any purpose whatever, but last night, the congregations not being notified, religious meetings were suffered to proceed as usual, with the understanding, however, that they are all discontinued until further orders.

The coloured people of Alexandria and its vicinity should bear in mind that under an order of the Mayor they are not permitted to be away from their homes after half-past seven o'clock any evening, without the passes which are allowed by the laws.

Last night but one arrest was made; a well known coloured man, walking with a female, was found to have a knife and a bullet headed cane, which caused his arrest. Several arrests were made in Fairfax County, but without discovering any indication of hostility.

For general information I state that under the Virginia law "a negro shall be punished with stripes if he keep or carry any firearms, sword or other weapon, or be found in an unlawful assembly." "Every assemblage of coloured persons in the night time, for any purpose, is an unlawful assembly." "Any justice may order out patrols in his County or corporation, and such patrols shall take any person found in an unlawful assemblage."

The students of "Theological Seminary" also formed a patrol. To-day, the magistrates are satisfied that no harm was contemplated by the coloured folks. They go for a frolic, dance all night, and sleep all day Sunday. Thus the excitement ends.

From The Richmond (Va.) Enquirer.

All at once, in Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas, it is discovered that the slaves are meditating schemes of insurrection. These are not the wild and visionary projects with which negroes may be disposed to amuse themselves in the most quiet communities, but the maturely prepared, and in some instances the partially executed plans of a deliberate and wide-spread purpose of revolt. In one place, suspicions and stories of impending insurrection are confirmed by collections of arms and munitions in the possession of the slaves. In another a blow is struck while yet no one apprehends an outbreak. From almost every point in the South-West, rumours of insurrectionary movements among the negroes come upon us with more or less of distinct and authentic detail.

Now, these simultaneous manifestations of an insubordinate spirit among the slave population in several different States, would imply preconcert of purpose and preparation, if circumstances did not forbid the possibility of any general conspiracy. They argue rather the prevalence of a common impulse, which is the result of some common cause. Unquestionably this discontent among the slaves is the result of the recent sectional contest. They were not ignorant of the character of the late canvass. Excited by the incendiary operations of the Black Republican party, emboldened by the assurances of sympathy and promises of succour from the North, and stimulated, no doubt, by the secret suggestions of miscreants in our midst, they grew impatient of their subjection and eager for revolt.

These extensive preparations for an outbreak among the slaves admonish us of the calamities which the election of Fremont would have brought upon the South. His defeat has frustrated plans which would have been disclosed in some more alarming shape, in the event of his election. Thinking men in the North will now understand how fatally the success of the Black Republican party would have affected the social security of the slaveholding States: and if they be not insensible to every humane consideration, they will discountenance and suppress an agitation which threatens the country with such unspeakable calamities—calamities which will fall with peculiar severity upon the very race for which the people of the North affect so much sympathy.

It is very far from our purpose to excite any unnecessary alarm, for that would tend to the very result against which we mean to suggest every possible precaution. But it is essential to the repose of the community, that the public should be informed of occurrences which imply the possibility of a still more general spirit of insubordination among the slaves. Much anxiety and perhaps some danger may be averted by the adoption of a more vigilant and rigorous police.

From these insurrectionary movements, we may deduce an illustration of the utter folly of the proposition to revive the slave trade. Negroes of some intelligence are not to be deceived into such chimerical and suicidal schemes. They originate in the blind passions of the ignorant and brutal mass—a mass to which it is the interest of the South to make no addition from the savage wilds of Africa.

From the same, Dec. 16.

Every day develops some fresh scheme of revolt among the slaves of the Western and more Southern States. To those already reported in our columns, we have to add another prepared plan of insurrection just detected and defeated in South Carolina. Occurring at the same time in so many separate localities, these discoveries suggest the suspicion of a very general spirit of insubordination among the negro population. Why should this State alone be exempt from the danger which impended over nearly the entire Southern community? It is not. In Montgomery County and in the vicinity of Williamsburg, facts have been brought to light which warrant the apprehension of an outbreak, and justify the people in the most summary measures of suppression.

It is a remarkable circumstance in all these schemes of meditated insurrection, that Christmas was selected as the day of their accomplishment. Now, observing so widespread a spirit of revolt among the slaves, perceiving that the same incendiary causes operate in full vigour in this State, and seeing, indeed, that indications of intended outbreak have been detected in more than one County in Virginia, we venture, at the hazard of even exciting unnecessary apprehension, to inquire if it is not the duty of the authorities and of the people to provide every possible precaution against any demonstration of violence among our own negroes? Shall we not be admonished by timely discoveries in other States? Or, shall we neglect our own security until we, too, are exposed to extreme alarm, if not to actual peril?

The military system of Virginia is in utter dilapidation. Out of the cities we have no organized means of protection against a sudden emergency. Every consideration, then, suggests the necessity of adopting immediate measures of prevention. Obviously the best thing to be done under the circumstances, is to appoint patrols for the Counties, and to stimulate the police of the towns to more rigour and vigilance. It is especially important that the Counties should be thoroughly patrolled, so as to interrupt extensive communications among the slaves, and to prevent them from assembling in large numbers. Perhaps, between this and Christmas the County Courts may not have an opportunity to attend to the matter; but the magistrates of any district have power to appoint patrols and they should do it without delay. In default of their action, private gentlemen may concert measures for the discovery and suppression of any meditated outbreak.

This is a delicate subject, and requires delicate handling. We touch it only in discharge of our imperative obligations to the community. Better be reproached, after all apprehension is past, with exciting an unnecessary panic among timid people, than be charged with a criminal silence in the possible event of real danger. As it is, we have spoken with all the reserve compatible with our object.

From The Richmond Whig, Dec. 16.

We are no alarmist; but we think it behooves the good people of the State to be more than usually alert in times like these. Rumours of insurrectionary movements on the part of the slaves come up to us from almost all the Southern States—not excepting our own. In various portions of Virginia, suspicion has been aroused on this subject, in the last few days. In or near Williamsburg, several suspected slaves have been arrested and lodged in jail. The citizens of Alexandria have also had their fears excited on this subject to such an extent that they made telegraphic application to the Governor for arms on Sunday morning, which he sent to them by an express train on Sunday evening.

The citizens of Fauquier, we hear, have made a similar application. In the County of New Kent, not far below Richmond, thirty negroes have been arrested in the last day or two upon suspicion of being implicated in these insurrectionary movements. Nor is this suspicion entirely groundless; for there are a good many Yankee woodchoppers in that County, who are believed to be at the bottom of the matter.

From The Richmond Dispatch, Dec. 16.

Now that the Christmas holidays are upon us, it is essential to the peace and good order of the country, that neighbourhood patrols should be put out every night, and that the owners of slaves should see that their servants are at home at proper hours and are comfortably provided for. More injury is done to slave property by cross-road groggeries, where servants assemble to drink and carouse, than by any other evil, and to these nuisances the attention of the country police is directed. In this city where thousands of strange negroes congregate in search of homes for the succeeding year, the police force will be greatly strengthened for the holidays to prevent depredations on private property. But no police can be efficient without the aid of our citizens. Every housekeeper should therefore adopt the policy of ridding his premises of all strange servants at an early hour of the night, and then see that his own are in their proper place. Proper precaution on the part of owners will save the health of their slaves, and keep them from engaging in vices that may lead them into trouble.

Correspondence of The Petersburg Express.

RICHMOND, Dec. 17, 1856.

No little interest exists in our city at present, consequent upon rumours of insurrectionary movements, and the women and children are, you might suppose, very much alarmed. There is, in fact, no sort of foundation for such reports. Yet it has been deemed expedient, in consideration of intelligence from other places, to take such precautions for any emergency as will be sufficient to frustrate an attempt of the sort. Twenty men have been added to the night-watch, and the various military companies have received secret instructions as to their mode of action in the event of difficulty. Still, no sensible person anticipates it, and, as above intimated, the timid are alarmed at the weak inventions of their own minds. Some families in the western part of the city were much frightened the other night at

negroes. We have refrained from publishing a great deal which we received by mails, going to show that there is a spirit of turbulence abroad in various quarters. One lesson is, however, taught, which should not be neglected anywhere, although no local symptom may have occurred to occasion particular uneasiness. It is, that vigilance ought to be exercised everywhere, and that the regulations which law has established for the orderly behaviour and subordination of blacks should be strictly administered. They have been very loosely observed in New Orleans. This should be reformed altogether, and immediately, and we therefore ask for it the attention of those charged with the duty.

IN TEXAS.

From The Galveston News, December 4.

The rumours of a negro insurrection in Harrison County have led to the appointment of a committee to investigate the matter. The committee report that they find no evidence of any concert of action, or any definite ideas among the negroes of what they would or could do, or of any real intention of doing anything. There had been a good deal of loose talk "about the late election—the prospects of Fremont's election, and the belief of some, that they would be free if Fremont was elected."

The committee find no evidence that any white man was implicated with the negroes, but they suggest the necessity for each and every slaveholder keeping a strict watch over his own negroes and premises, and not allowing any negroes but his own to visit his premises without a special permit. They also recommend the keeping up patrols in the several beats of the County, and permitting negroes from passing from one plantation to another, and carrying arms, &c. We think these suggestions may be equally applicable to many other Counties.

LATER INFORMATION.

THE SLAVES WHIPPED.

Special Despatch to The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18, 1856.

Thirty-two of the slaves arrested at Alexandria, Va., on Sunday morning last, upon a charge of insurrection, have been fined and whipped upon the bare back fifteen lashes each for assembling at a ball. Not the slightest testimony has been found against one of them that they intended to create an insurrection. The impression is that the whipping will incite those to insurrection now, who never dreamed of the subject before. The whites are armed, and constantly on the watch, though it is asserted by many that there is no real cause to fear insurrection. The movement of the blacks in Tennessee and Kentucky has struck terror among the slaveholders all over the South. BOSTON.

THE NEGRO TROUBLES IN KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE.

LOUISVILLE, Saturday, Dec. 20, 1856.

The *Russellville Herald* of Wednesday last says that the negro insurrection excitement exists in the neighbourhood of Volney and Gordonsville. A number of negroes had been arrested. A negro at one of the iron works in Tennessee said that he knew all about the plot, but would die before he would tell. He therefore received 750 lashes from which he died.

At Cadiz, Trigg Co., Ky., yesterday a free negro was hung after being tried by a Vigilance Committee. There was a number more in jail, some of whom will be hung. Judge Cook has called a meeting of the Court for Christmas day. Excitement runs very high.

THE NEGRO TROUBLES IN KENTUCKY.

LOUISVILLE, Friday, Dec. 19, 1856.

The negro preacher Anderson, was examined to day, at Carrollton, but nothing was proven against him. He is still held on charges from Henry and Trimble Counties.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: I have just seen in *The Tribune* a notice from *The Louisville Courier* of the arrest of the "Rev. Mr. Anderson" for having Abolition documents in his possession, and being suspected of inciting an unlawful use of the legs of Kentucky property. This "Rev.," if I am not sadly mistaken, is a drunken old negro, rather more than half idiot by nature, and admirably perfected by whiskey. He came to Indianapolis last Winter to lecture on the services of the negroes during the Revolution, but getting no audiences, compensated himself by getting drunk, and was put in "quod" by the police. Subsequently he was roving about over the State making speeches for a "fip" a time on any side the crowd called for. Both parties in Indiana hired him occasionally, for the fun of the thing, to make speeches, and once he spoke at Maurice in opposition to Willard, our men say by the procurement of the Democrats, who wanted to have it to say that the niggers were out for the Republicans. The Democrats and Willard himself made a great fuss about it at the time, as you may have seen. The fellow is simply a silly, harmless old darkey, who hardly knows enough to go in when it rains; and the report that "he is a leading Abolitionist preacher of the M. E. Church North," and all that, is rich enough to give an ostrich a sour stomach.

The Hon. Mr. English alluded to this arrest yesterday in his speech, and stated that the fellow was the nigger in question. Colfax knocked the wind out of him by telling the fellow's history. A NATIVE OF INDIANA.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 18, 1856.

SLAVERY IN THE SUPREME COURT.

THE CASE OF DRED SCOTT.

Correspondence of The Courier and Enquirer.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16, 1856.

THE argument of the case of Dred Scott of Missouri vs. John F. A. Sandford of New York was resumed this morning before a full bench of the Supreme Court. Taking into consideration the state of the country, *and the purposes for which this case has been brought before the Court*, it may be well regarded as the most important that has ever been brought before that tribunal.

This case involves two admitted points, and is contended to embrace some upon which counsel do not yet appear to have joined issue. The admitted points are:

First: Has an owner of slaves the right to take and hold them in a free State, as a sojourner, notwithstanding the laws and Constitution of the same prohibit slavery?

Second: Are the Constitutions of the States prohibiting slavery penal statutes, which the Courts of other States are bound to enforce?

It is obvious that the second of these admitted points raises another, to-wit: If the Courts of slave States are not bound to enforce, that is, to recognise the Constitutions of the free States, and *vice versa* the free States are not bound to respect the Constitutions of the others, then who is? There is but one tribunal of common jurisdiction—the Supreme Court. This fact raises the question whether that Court has the jurisdiction in such a case as this, which involves the rights of an individual, growing out of a violation of the Constitution of Illinois.

This is a point not suggested in either brief. But the third point which has been raised in the course of the pleadings is, whether a free negro is a citizen of any State, or of the United States, to an extent that entitles him to bring suit by appeal or otherwise in the Supreme Court. The whole case may be put aside on this last ground, by the Court's deciding that the plaintiff is not such a citizen, and that they have no jurisdiction in the premises.

Last Spring, when this controversy was in progress in the Court, I made the suggestion that the facts warranted the suspicion that the case had been made up by Washington politicians, in order to enlist the Supreme Court in the electioneering struggles of the day, and to procure from it a decision adverse to the Republican party and the free States. Those grounds of suspicion have not been removed; they are in fact much strengthened by what has since occurred. The case was originally tried in the Missouri Supreme Court, wherein Dred Scott was himself the plaintiff, and Dr. Emerson, his then master, the defendant. I think the decision of the Court against the plaintiff was rendered in 1854, while the Nebraska bill was pending.

And there, so far as it was a question of private property, the case was at an end. Scott and his family remained the slaves of their master, for even if he had been legally a free citizen of Missouri, he could not have appealed to the Supreme Court against a citizen of the same State. How, then, was he placed in the situation of a plaintiff? By the act of his master, the controverted title to these slaves was transferred to John F. A. Sanford of New York, and then Dred took his appeal, or rather it was taken for him, for to do these things requires money, and certainly as a slave Dred had none to spare nor to use. In Dec., 1855, just in the nick of time, for the purpose of the Democratic party, the case came to Washington, and in May, 1856, it came up for argument. Had the expected decision been given, it would have been issued by millions of copies to prove the constitutionalism of the Democratic party, and the Supreme Court would be permanently arrayed as a piece of partisan machinery on the side of the Democratic party. That this is a specially fabricated case, and fabricated for a bad purpose, I need say no more to prove. I know that it was the opinion of at least one sound Democratic and conservative lawyer, ten months ago, that the case would be thrown out of Court upon this very ground; and at that time it was but half developed.

It is, of course, without any intention of impugning the correctness of Dr. Emerson's conduct in this case that I refer to the facts as shown by the record. In the vast public interests involved, all individual considerations should be lost sight of. Mr. Sandford, the now defendant, is brother-in-law to Dr. Emerson, the late master of the slaves, and son-in-law to Mr. Pierre Choteau of St. Louis. He has recently become deranged, and is now the inmate of a lunatic asylum. The charge which the facts warrant is, that the contrivers and supporters of the overthrow of the Missouri Compromise discovered this opportunity to make up a case for agitating the slavery question in the Supreme Court. They have fully succeeded in their purpose, and they have secured to themselves the means of continued agitation after the determination of the Presidential election had deprived them of the usual material.

THE ARGUMENT.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15.

Mr. Blair opened on behalf of the claimant, and first argued the technical points, specified by the Court at the last term, when the reargument was ordered. Passing from them, he reviewed at length, and with much force, the question of jurisdiction, which is set up to exclude the real merits of this action, upon the ground that the coloured man is not a citizen in the legal sense, and therefore has no appeal to the present tribunal. He maintained that citizenship was invested with certain legal rights, which were not affected by the absence of various political functions. For example, aliens became citizens by naturalization, but could not be elected to the Presidency. In many of the States, religion, age and other qualifications were required for offices of honour or trust, through which good citizens were debarred their enjoyment. Three-fourths, at least, of the people of the United States would be excluded by the rule claimed, as but one in five, by the census, was a voter. Yet all these classes were citizens in the accepted sense; and his client, under the law of Missouri, was in a similar category, and therefore entitled to appear in this Court to seek redress which had been denied him at home. Illustrating this general principle, he cited the authority of Judge Gaston, of North Carolina, who held that all slaves were citizens under certain disabilities, which emancipation would remove. The Constitutional question was barely broached.

In his opening remarks Mr. Blair repeated what he had intimated on the former occasion, that he had been unable to procure the assistance of associate counsel. This omission must have been of his own making, for there are eminent jurists now here and elsewhere, who would willingly have assumed a part of the discussion. There are questions at issue of the largest moment, and it was proper in view of this fact, if for no other reason, that the most commanding ability should have been secured, as it could have been by little exertion and proper application. Mr. Badger, when a member of the Senate, discussed with signal ability the power of Congress over the Territories, and the right to impose the condition attached to the admission of Missouri, which is now disputed; and it was understood at one time that he would appear now to enforce those arguments before the present tribunal. Personal reasons, perhaps not uninfluenced by the sectional strife, changed that purpose. But there were others, quite as able as he, who would gladly have defended these principles before this forum. Application was made to Mr. Fessenden last week to join in the cause; but at so late a day, and without the opportunity of that investigation demanded by the importance and gravity of the occasion, he did not feel justified in accepting the invitation.

Telegraphic Report. DEC. 16, 1856.

Mr. Geyer, for the applicant, took the broad ground that an African was incapable of being made a citizen, and that it had been so decided by the Courts in a number of cases. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, every State, except one of the slaveholding States in the Convention for the adoption of the Constitution, left open the African slave trade for twenty years, and to his mind it was not the intention of the framers of that instrument to make an importation of material for citizenship. If the master carries a slave into a State where slavery does not exist, and the slave is not discharged by local law, and then takes him back to a State where slavery is established, the latter is not bound to enforce the law of the other State or exact the forfeiture imposed. He denied that a slave was emancipated by a residence in a free State. It had been decided everywhere that the mere temporary residence of the master in a non-slaveholding State did not emancipate the slave.

Correspondence of The Tribune. Dec. 17.

Reverdy Johnson occupied the entire sitting of the Court by an argument marked by his usual characteristics, interspersed by that personal interest and fervid dogmatism always manifested by Southern slaveholders whenever they treat the negro question. Mr. Johnson's argument was well considered, compact and about as remarkable for what it did not contain as for what it did. He steered clear of several modern heresies of constitutional interpretation, while he embraced others of a general character with alacrity. Thus he declared that "slavery promises to exist through all time, so far as human vision can discover"; and further, that it may turn out, and not improbably will, that "the extension of slavery on this continent is the only thing which will preserve the constitutional freedom we now enjoy." Yet while he did not rush to the extreme Southern ground that the Constitution carries slavery into the Territories, he yet went far enough to satisfy the Southern pro-slavery party with which he has lately identified himself. In denying the coloured race all claims to citizenship, which he did with expressions and manners of supercilious disdain, which cannot be counterfeited by any man outside the ranks of the born-slaveholders and aristocrats, in his sneers upon Lord Mansfield's language in the Somerset case, in which that distinguished jurist pronounced one of the noblest decisions ever made by any Court, and which will live in undying lustre when the memory of the whole present race of iron-heeled judicial oppressors shall have rotted and been forgotten, Mr. Johnson amply justified his fitness for the service in which it is understood he volunteered in the present case.

Telegraphic Report. Dec. 18.

Mr. Blair proceeded with an argument in support of the jurisdiction of the Court and the claim of his client to citizenship, mainly on the same grounds as adduced in his remarks of Monday. He instanced various authorities in support of his propositions. He defended, at length, the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise. It was a sectional question, such as calls up the passions of all sections and all countries. Nobody ever questioned its constitutionality until within a brief period. Mr. Calhoun, in 1830, though believing it a dangerous measure, did not say it was unconstitutional. That record continued until 1847, when that distinguished man broached the idea that slavery might extend into the Territories. The Court is now called upon to restrain an institution which by act cotemporaneous with the Constitution is declared utterly violative of the institutions upon which Republics are founded. We are now asked to change a policy, and, upon the construction of a word in the Constitution—"Territory"—decide whether this shall be a slave or free continent.

Correspondence of The Tribune. Dec. 19.

The case was finished yesterday, after four days' argument, and closed by George T. Curtis, of Boston, who confined himself to a consideration of the construction of the terms of the grant to Congress "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property of the United States." Mr. Curtis placed himself on the position that this clause gave the power in question, and confined himself strictly to the exposition of its true interpretation derived from its history and its terms. It was the effort, on the face of it, of a practiced lawyer who knew law, believed in law and might not believe in much else. Mr. Curtis's argument was, perhaps, the best to be delivered to the Court under the circumstances. It being of no use to address a majority of them on broad and elevated grounds, it was wise to try and fasten them to palpable constitutional provision. I can, therefore, well pardon Mr. Curtis for reserving all his compliments for the slave States, and never once offering to bask his own or the Court's judicial rheumatics in the sunshine of Freedom. I won't mind their approaching the political Siloam on crutches, provided they will only roll themselves in.

The speech commanded marked attention from the Court, and attracted the largest audience from Congress which has yet assembled, as well as a number of the most distinguished jurists. It was most happily conceived in style and manner, and by some of its concessions, such, for example, as a denial of the policy of imposing any restrictions on States applying for admission, except such as the people saw fit to adopt in establishing a Republican constitution, doubtless, commended it to special favour in particular quarters. The admission was general and frank on all sides that Mr. Curtis acquitted himself with eminent ability, and left an impression for high argumentative power and logical eloquence which honourable ambition may well aspire to attain. At the close, he was congratulated warmly, and it was noticed among others by several Southern Senators, who wholly dissented from the doctrines which he had so properly vindicated.

THE PROBABLE DECISION.

There is hardly a doubt, if the merits be decided, what the judgment of the Court will be. The same overshadowing power which has appropriated every other department of the Government, has insidiously invaded this forum of last resort. And as if to encourage the downward tendency, inducements have been temptingly held out, which are calculated to excite the ambition and infirmity of human nature. The prize of the Chief Justiceship, dependent only upon the precarious tenure of its present incumbent, has been openly and shamefully canvassed in this connection, and the decree may possibly emphasize some of the humiliating suggestions which have found so much currency of late. Judge Taney has not concealed his own inclinations on this cause. They are decidedly adverse to the rights of the claimant. When a jurist of such conceded ability, who was a cotemporary of mature years when the Missouri Compromise passed, can adopt this view, it is not difficult to imagine how others of less claim to distinction may conform to its influence.

The case was not brought up here, as has been alleged, upon a feigned or fictitious issue. It is a genuine application for redress against the decision of the Missouri Court, remanding into slavery a man who has been made free both by the laws of Illinois and the act of Congress admitting Missouri into the Union.

The position of the Court on the question is quite generally understood to be this: Messrs. Curtis of Massachusetts Nelson of New York, and McLean of Ohio, are in favour of the power. Messrs. Campbell of Alabama, Wayne of Georgia, Daniel of Virginia, are against it. The Judges whose position is not so well defined are understood to be Grier of Pennsylvania, Catron of Tennessee, and the Chief-Justice Taney of Maryland. Thus it may be seen that the division is geographical and sectional; of the three Judges who hold the balance of power, two live well up to the Ohio River and Mason and Dixon's Line. If they lived further South, the judgment of the Court would be less in doubt.

THE ALTERNATIVE—THE STRUGGLE TO COME.

It was impossible not to feel, during the whole progress of Mr. Johnson's argument, that if the power of this Union is to be turned and held to the support of the tyrannic dogmas which he promulgated, the sooner it is broken the better. A Government whose foundations are to be acknowledged to rest on the neck of the oppressed is not worth preserving. If the Government is to insist that slavery is its corner-stone, it is a Government which should come to an end. This Union was framed by its founders as an instrument for the freedom and elevation of man. By them slavery was regarded as an exceptional institution to be removed by time, gradually, but surely, to be rooted out by liberty. The aim of the party which has the control of the Government, and which is represented by Mr. Johnson in this his highest effort before the highest judicial tribunal of the country, now is to thwart and destroy these lofty purposes of the founders of the Constitution and the Union, and to make the Government an engine of aristocratic rule and dire oppression. Should success attend the effort, should it come to be understood that the determination of this Government is to assert that slavery is not an exceptional institution among us, but is to be regarded as permanent and perpetual where it exists, and that it shall not only be permitted to spread, but that it is entitled to the protection of the Government in its extension throughout our territory, who should desire the Union to stand? Yet such was the position taken by Mr. Johnson in his argument to-day, and such was the position he earnestly tried to persuade the Supreme Court to occupy. And let me say that whatever the decision of the case now before the Court may be, it is very generally conceded here that unless the political character of the Executive Government and of Congress can be soon changed, such is the position it very soon will occupy.

No reflecting mind can have failed to observe, in the growth and development of the ideas which underlie the case now under adjudication, that our judicial decisions upon constitutional questions touching the subject of slavery are rapidly coming to be the enunciation of mere party dogmas; that the country is dividing geographically upon questions of constitutional law, and that in the process of time, if we continue a united people, what the law of the country and the Courts is will depend upon the political ascendancy for the time being of the doctrines of freedom or of slavery. It is manifest that an antagonism of doctrine upon the question of slavery will divide the Court as it has divided the Churches; and that while the latter are allowed to separate, the former are held together by a political tie that will necessitate the decision of cases by the mere power of majorities. What under one Administration may be declared to be sound constitutional interpretation, is to be totally repudiated under another. If the Supreme Court were to-day to decide that Congress had no power over slavery in the Territories, the decision would be simply a majority decision, carrying no moral power with it in the North; and if a speedy change were possible in one or two of the individuals composing the Court, such a decision would be unceremoniously reversed at its very next session.

It is useless to disguise this state of things, or to pretend that there is any present probability of restoring the harmony that existed in the workings of the Government when there was a common agreement, North and South, that slavery was a nuisance, and an evil to be got rid of at the earliest practicable moment. Such was our condition when the Union was formed and the Constitution adopted. At a later period, a comparative harmony was preserved by compromises on the question. Now, the old idea is repudiated by the slavery men, and the compromise system seemingly abjured by all. We are thus arrived at the point of collision between the opposing forces in the Government. While this state of things continues to exist, there can be no peace. There can be a triumph of one party over the other, but that is all. How long is political union possible under such circumstances? There may be a period or periods of peace between the combatants, but they will ever be temporary, and partake of the character of a truce, or of submission of the vanquished to the victor. Inevitably, however, they must come to an end, and that end is separation of the free and slave States; and it is the part of wise statesmanship, both North and South, among all dispassionate men, to prepare the way for this result in a manner which shall not disgrace the civilization of the age in which we live. If we cannot, as a nation, agree to go back to the position of the founders of the Government, and regard slavery as an exceptional institution, and administer the Government in the interest of universal freedom, or if we will not agree upon any fixed compromises in respect to the institution of slavery, the longer continuance of the existing Union is a political impossibility. J. S. P.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1856.

THE PRESENT STATE OF KANSAS.

THE *Evening Post* of the 22d inst. gives some interesting particulars of a conversation with a gentleman recently returned from Kansas, who expressed the opinion that the great battle between Slavery and Freedom in that Territory had been fought and the agents of the slaveholders defeated. This, to use a hackneyed newspaper phrase, is "important, *if true*"; but we confess we do not share the confidence of the *Post* in this representation. It is doubtless true, as the interlocutor of that paper states, that the Free State settlers, compared with their opponents, are ten to one, and we can easily understand why the better portion of the pro-slavery citizens should be disgusted with the villanies of Atchison and Stringfellow and seek to place themselves on a more friendly footing with their Free State neighbours; but it is not so easy to credit the broad statement that "those who favoured the introduction of slavery have given up the contest." It is far more probable that this attitude is feigned for the purpose of allaying the fears of Free State men, calming agitation at the North, and gaining time to concoct some new scheme of fraud and villany. Free State men, we see, are beginning to express confidence in the good intentions and good faith of Gov. Geary, while they draw encouragement, quite naturally, from the removal of the infamous Lecompte and Donaldson; but the occurrences in view of which they are so much elated may prove to be only a masterly stroke of policy on the part of the slaveholders to escape the odium cast upon their cause by men who have carried themselves with more boldness than prudence, and thus to prepare the way for the more certain attainment of the end they seek. The "white heap," we more than suspect, conceals the treacherous beast whose claws will yet tear the hearts of those who flatter themselves that she is either dead or tamed.

A correspondent of *The Tribune*, writing from Lawrence, Dec. 12, gives an account of certain overtures for peace and union that were lately presented by conservative pro-slavery men to Gov. Robinson and his associates. The writer says:

"It was urged that, as matters stood with the present Senate and the next House of Representatives—that as the former was Democratic now and the latter unquestionably would be—there was no hope for the Free State Constitution framed at Topeka, and therefore the Free State settlers should unite with the pro-slavery men in elections to elect delegates to a Convention and vote on a Constitution, and that the question of Kansas a free State or Kansas a slave State should thus be decided. At first these peacemakers rather preferred that the Free State men should meet them at the polls, to be opened under the directions of the bogus Legislature, which will soon assemble; subsequently they appeared to be inclined to offer terms less objectionable. A discussion having dragged the chief stumbling-blocks and causes of difficulty to the foreground, it was conceded that the bogus laws ought to be repealed, that any such election must be protected by the united efforts of national, military and conservative residents, and that none should vote save those who had an actual residence in the Territory which had been of three months' duration."

The same writer, in considering the character and availability of the pro-slavery overtures, uses language which shows that he does not, like the *Evening Post*, consider the contest ended and a victory for freedom won:

"The men through whom these propositions for amicable settlement come, are not of the kind who burn towns, murder Free State men on the highway, or mob ballot-boxes. However much they may be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which such villany has given their party and the policy they adopt, they have too much respect for their characters to take a personal hand in them. They are, therefore, not the Border Ruffians; they are conservative Pro-Slavery residents of the Territory. In negotiating with them at all, the first blunder lies in considering them the hitherto hostile party with whom we wish to treat. If Stringfellow and Atchison, and Bob Kelly, and all the Border Ruffians of Missouri, were to come to us and propose a cessation of hostilities and rascality, if they were to tell us that they were willing to have the bogus laws and officers abolished, and to renounce all the advantage and power that their villany has gained for the Pro-Slavery cause; and all this in consideration that the Free State and Pro-Slavery settlers of the Territory should decide the slavery question at a fair election, what would we think of it? As a miraculous case of awakened conscience it might astonish us, but the idea of their making such a proposition in good faith, as a business transaction to settle the point, is preposterous. We might as well expect them to sign a memorial to both Houses of Congress to accept us with the Topeka Constitution. The men who desired to negotiate here to-day, have always affected to deplore the violence and fraud of the Border Ruffians. The attempt at a negotiation on their part can only have occurred at the instance of other influential men who did not like the responsibility of making it themselves; or it may have been an effort to win some share of popularity for themselves, as individuals, with the Free State party, in case of the ultimate success of the latter. Who shall, or who *can*, give us assurance that the Border Ruffians mean to do fairly and act honourably from this time henceforth? Have all the well-planned attacks on the freedom of Kansas, all the murders, robbery and fraud, been merely a slight effervescence that did not mean anything? Has Border Ruffianism merely been a joke, and is the mask to be pulled off, and all the fruits of years of toilful and expensive wickedness to be given up for a smile and a clasp of the hand?

"There has been a great anxiety among the Pro-Slavery men to induce the Free State men to vote at the bogus elections. By such a recognition of the bogus laws, they would fall irremediably before the Ruffians. No effort will be spared to make the free settlers go in and be slaughtered decently. The aim of these negotiations may be this; but I suspect that the mainspring lies elsewhere. I do not wish to wrong his Excellency, but there is a Gearyish look about all this.

"In this interesting and partially developed programme, there are some slight shortcomings which are likely to upset the whole. The Border Ruffians are not dead yet. The ruffian oligarchy, by the aid of the National Government, have seized Kansas, they hold it in their grasp, and they are not likely to let the coveted fruit turn to ashes on their lips. If they see any system adopted that will endanger their success, they will fight it with all their vigour and malignity. They keep on good terms with the Executive just because the Executive of the nation has been fighting for them. In spite of the little dodges and quibbles and small favours, thrown like dust in the eyes of the Free State settlers, the Pro-Slavery men see and *know* that all the advantage yet lies with them; and so long as it does, the compact between them and the authorities will be a good one."

Mr. Thaddeus Hyatt, President of the National Kansas Committee, writes to the same paper in a more hopeful strain. In a letter from Lawrence he says:

"Things transpire daily which convince me that Geary is sound enough for us. And I prophesy *Central America, Cuba* and *Compromise!* And then the poor Northern Donkey will thankfully accept what his master chooses to lay on. Perhaps the angel of the Lord will by and by meet this ass in a tight fix where he cannot turn to either the right hand or the left; he will speak then; not effectually or emphatically till then. Possibly that time has already come. I hope so."

We understand this as an intimation that the slaveholders will surrender Kansas as a means of procuring the assent of the "poor Northern Donkey" to the annexation of Cuba and Central America. We think it more likely that they will have their way upon *all* these questions, and that the Donkey will continue to bray as stupidly as ever, "Great is the Union—let it be preserved at whatever sacrifice!"

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT PERU, N. Y.

THE citizens of Peru and vicinity assembled in convention at the Peru Friends' meeting-house on Friday, Nov. 28th. The Convention was organized by the election of the following officers:

President—SAMUEL KEESE.

Vice-Presidents—Wm. Keese and B. F. Smith.

Secretary—John Keese.

Business Committee—A. M. Powell, Catharine R. Keese, Pamelia Keese, Joseph Walpole and Richard Lapham.

Finance Committee—S. K. Smith, Susan B. Anthony and Sarah P. Remond.

The Convention was then addressed by A. M. POWELL, who reviewed the history and progress of the Anti-Slavery movement, and spoke of the growth and oft-repeated and continued aggressions of the Slave Power. He referred to the fearful opposing power with which liberty has to contend, and considered it important that in this hour of peril we should understand the extent of our resources, that we might be equal to the demands of the warfare in which we are engaged. He concluded by inviting all present to participate freely in the proceedings of the Convention.

CHARLES L. REMOND next addressed the meeting. He spoke of the general aspects of the cause, and referred at some length to the condition of political affairs in relation to slavery.

At the close of his interesting remarks, the meeting adjourned until 7 p. m.

EVENING SESSION.—The PRESIDENT in the chair.

A. M. POWELL, on behalf of the Business Committee, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That we demand the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery, not because it trespasses upon the rights of Northern freemen merely, but because of its criminality, recognising as it does property in man.

C. L. REMOND supported the resolution, showing the criminal character of the slave system, viewed from the stand-point of the slave.

After some remarks from R. Lapham, C. R. Keese, and others, the Convention adjourned.

SECOND DAY.

The Convention again met as by adjournment, the PRESIDENT in the chair.

A. M. POWELL, from the Business Committee, presented the following resolutions, inviting a full and free discussion thereof:

Resolved, That while slavery fattens upon prejudice against colour, *that prejudice* is itself the fruit of slavery in the degradation of its subjects, who are no longer confined to the black man, but represent every shade of colour down to the most perfect Anglo Saxon hue; and prospectively, the present free white labourer is boldly claimed as its proper victim. Our duty, therefore, is to resist slavery as the enemy of man.

Resolved, That past experience and present observation incline us more strongly than ever to the application of moral measures for the removal of moral evils, and that the motto of the American Anti-Slavery Society, "No Union with Slaveholders," is the most consistent and effective for the immediate abolition of American slavery.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY made some brief remarks upon the want of funds in the Society, calling upon all to give liberally as they approved of the cause.

S. P. REMOND then addressed the meeting. She spoke very feelingly of the unholy prejudice against colour, and of the inability of free coloured people to obtain that station in life which was their right.

A. M. POWELL referred to the position of Abolitionists, and of our individual duties in the present hour.

Concluding remarks were made by the PRESIDENT, C. L. REMOND, and others, and the Convention then adjourned to 7 p. m.

EVENING SESSION—In consequence of a severe storm, the audience was limited. An informal meeting was held, and an interesting discussion continued until 10 p. m.

THIRD DAY.

Met as by adjournment.

A. M. POWELL opened the meeting by explaining at some length the views of the American Society, and read extracts from various political papers to prove that the Republicans were not, as a party, anti-slavery. This called forth considerable discussion, but was ably sustained by C. L. REMOND, who, in a long and eloquent speech, reviewed the course of the political parties, proving that every act had but bound more closely the bonds of the slave. They expect nothing from politics; moral suasion, and a change in public opinion alone could effect the work of abolishing this deadly sin. For his own part, he could not see what the North had to fear from a dissolution of the Union, they had everything to gain, nothing to lose. They were now in reality simply bound together by the Constitution framed by their fathers, but which had ceased to be a bond of unity. His remarks were listened to with deep interest.

SARAH P. REMOND and SUSAN B. ANTHONY briefly addressed the meeting, after which a collection was taken, and the Convention adjourned, *sine die*.

GERRIT SMITH TO HENRY GREW.

PETERBORO', Dec. 20, 1856.

HENRY GREW, Philadelphia—*My Dear Friend:* Not until this hour have I been able to give an attentive reading to your affectionate and welcome letter in the THE STANDARD of the 15th November. I was Counsel for a young German charged with murder—and, for the last month, all the time I could possibly spare from my usual business has been devoted to his salvation.

Your fear that our friendship will be marred is groundless. Differences of judgment—and we shall have no other—cannot mar such a friendship.

I believe I understand you. Your virtual position is, that though you were fully persuaded that William Goodell would make a perfect civil ruler, you, nevertheless, would not vote for him. Your justification for withholding your vote would be, that, before entering upon his office, he would express different opinions from your own of a certain paper. You would believe him to be entirely sincere in such expression. Moreover, all his acts, and all his life, and all his spirit, after entering upon his office, would be just what you would have them. Your only complaint of him is of his one honest error of misinterpreting the language of that paper.

Now, by what logic is it, my friend, that you justify your refusal to vote for Mr. Goodell? By the bad logic that, in voting for a man, you necessarily indorse all his mistakes.

All that you are at liberty to exact of Mr. Goodell is, that he shall wield the powers of his office rightly. If you find him doing that—if you find him knowing no law for slavery—then you are to be sorry and ashamed that you did not vote for him—never mind how right may be yours, or how wrong may be his, views of the certain paper in question. Pardon me for saying that whatsoever more than this you exact from him cometh of intolerance and bigotry.

Your virtual position is, that you would not vote for a man for pastor of a church, if you should foresee that, on entering upon his office, he would recognise the Apocrypha as a part of the sacred cannon. No, not even if he were as pure as an angel would you vote for him. There might be in him all the power and love and holy beauty that you could desire to see in a Christian pastor. But you must not vote for him. Why? Because, according to your logic, your vote for him would put you in his relation to the Apocrypha.

Your virtual position is, that the Baptist is right in holding that to commune at the Lord's Table with a Pedobaptist is to indorse the error of the Pedobaptist in regard to baptism. To be consistent with your position on the question between us, you must justify the Baptist, even though the Pedobaptist is all heavenly in his temper and life. But, my good friend, it is just such bigotry as this which is illustrated by the Baptist and the anti-Apocrypha man, that grieves the heart, and disgraces and holds back the cause of Jesus Christ.

I honour and love you and the other Garrisonians. They are entirely right in refusing to swear to support the Constitution. For such swearing, so long as they believe the Constitution to be pro-slavery, would be moral perjury. They are right also in refusing to vote for men who hold the Constitution to be pro-slavery. But I have never been able to see that anything better than bigotry and bad logic could drive them to the conclusion, that an Abolitionist, who is equal to themselves in all that constitutes an honest, earnest Abolitionist, is not to be voted for because he believes the Constitution to be anti-slavery, and wields it as such.

With great regard, your friend, GERRIT SMITH.

LETTER FROM A. M. POWELL.

To the Editors of The Standard.

IMMEDIATELY after our visit to Washington County, some account of which I gave in my last, we proceeded to Keeseville, Essex Co., one of the points designated for a Convention, to be attended by C. L. Remond, Sarah P. Remond and myself.

Arrived in Keeseville, we were met by our good friend Stephen H. Smith, of Peru, to take us at once to that town. In Keeseville no suitable place for meetings could be obtained. It was decided best to abandon the town and to appropriate the time to Peru instead.

Keeseville has an extensive interest in the iron trade. Its religion, its politics, its heart, if it has any, all would seem to be very much of the nature of the hard substance which constitutes the bulk of their commercial interest. Though almost in sight of Canada, its moral atmosphere, in relation to slavery, is not very unlike that of South Carolina. Its Churches are closed against the slave. A leading Republican, a member of the Republican Committee, I understand, declared to some of our friends that if he could manage matters to his liking, he would make the Disunion movement *treason*, and would HANG *every Disunionist!*

Mr. Lansing, editor of the *Northern Standard*, is friendly to our movement, and desired for us a candid hearing.

At Peru we had a three days Convention, with afternoon and evening sessions. The second day of the Convention we were joined by Susan B. Anthony, under whose auspices, as a General Manager, we are holding the meetings and Conventions of this New York Campaign. You will perhaps have had some account of the Peru Convention from its Secretaries. In spirit it was a very good Convention. Its discussions were earnest and ultra. Its contributions to the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society amounted to something more than $40. The attendance, however, was very small. With the three additional speakers and extensive notice circulated by our friends, the audiences were not more than half the size of those when, alone and as a stranger, I lectured there nearly two years ago. During the late political contest nearly all were drawn into the whirlpool of the excitement and seem to have considered that they were doing good service for Freedom. Those previously interested in the glorious object of our movement are resolved to continue, and to prosecute faithfully whatever their hands may find to do. Aside from the faithful few, there is manifested, in that vicinity, a cold and sad indifference to the claims of the oppressed. Though Republican in politics, it is a Republicanism that would help to enslave millions of our countrymen, that "Our Glorious Union" may still "be preserved."

To our much esteemed friends Samuel and Catharine Keese, Pamelia Keese and sister, John and Amie Keese, the Laphams, Smiths and Barkers we are particularly grateful for kind and efficient coöperation, and for their very liberal entertainment.

Our next appointment was at Plattsburgh. We found it impracticable to hold the day meetings as advertised. The first evening meeting was tolerably well attended. Mr. Beckwith, Republican, presided. C. L. Remond addressed the meeting, having for his text the prejudice against colour, and the general aspects of the slavery question. Susan B. Anthony also made an earnest appeal to all to give their coöperation to the anti-slavery cause. The following evening a furious snow storm seriously interfered with the success of our meeting. It not unfrequently occurs that, when we seem likely to overcome the numerous other obstacles which we are obliged to encounter, the "Clerk of the weather," to whom "D. Y." frequently refers, is found ready to act the pro-slavery part, to chill and dampen our otherwise hopeful and encouraging prospects. Our Republican chairman did not reappear on the second evening. Mr. Cooley, a Gerrit Smith Abolitionist, served in that capacity. I endeavoured to illustrate somewhat the state of the nation's politics, and to show the great need of Revolution. Sarah P. Remond followed in an impressive speech, showing the great wrongs which the slave must endure, and the guilt resting upon the North in relation thereto.

During our sojourn at Plattsburgh we were entertained at the Cumberland House. On the evening of our arrival, when tea was announced, Miss Anthony and myself with other guests, were invited, but Mr. Remond and sister were refused seats at the public table. We would not accept a place at the table, from which our friends were to be excluded solely because of difference in complexion. We had an interview with the proprietor, who said, but for anticipated displeasure on the part of some of his guests, he had no objection to having coloured people at his table, or to eating with them himself. He would provide for us a private table. The matter was freely commented upon in the evening meeting. The next morning, and subsequently, we were all respectfully invited to the public table.

The American prejudice against the coloured people has dominion coextensive with the American Slave System. The insult above alluded to was deeply painful to all of us. We were, however, gratified with the manhood subsequently exhibited by the landlord, accompanied by a kind and respectful bearing towards us.

In my last letter I mentioned the great apathy and indifference we were obliged to encounter, on the part of the masses. Our experience since that time has been much of the same character. Though the people give us little encouragement, this is an important period for our work.

DISUNION *is the word for the hour.*

Yours, very truly, AARON M. POWELL.

Malone, Franklin County, N. Y., Dec. 9th, 1856.

FRANCES E. WATKINS.—We cut the following notice from the Wilmington (Del.) *Republican* of a recent date. The paper is more influential, perhaps, than any other in the State, and its conservative character precludes the supposition that, in commending Miss Watkins, it has been influenced by any sentiment too favourable to coloured people.

"This remarkable woman delivered a lecture on the condition of the African race in our country, in the Odd Fellows' Hall, on Tuesday evening. She is a mulatto, the white blood predominating, of twenty-five or thirty years of age, hair nearly straight, and her person rather over the ordinary height. We have styled her a remarkable woman, as for beauty of language, distinctness of enunciation, and clearness of argument, she is not excelled by any female, or perhaps any male, that has appeared in our city in the character of a lecturer for many years. She commenced her address by an allusion to the different nations of earth, their rise, progress and decay; the birth, growth, power and capacity and the death of men and statesmen. She observed, our country had suddenly become great, powerful and opulent, its press was free, thought uncurbed, there were no stately palaces or courtly

the Presidential election had been greatly changed since that time. They had vauntingly predicted what they would do in event of success, but now they anxiously declaim against any connection or affiliation with the Garrison extremists. They had intimated that when the proper time came they intended to make an onset on the institution of slavery in the States. Now they utterly disavow such intention. These gentlemen, he strongly suspected, found themselves, even at the North, in advance of public sentiment, and had been forced to fall back upon more tenable grounds. During this exhibition in the Senate, another not less remarkable had been made elsewhere. Politicians of ultra stamp have been somewhat changing in their tone. It seems to be the programme of the Black Republicans that the camps of the two wings of that party should be within sight of each other for the next four years, and their standards so nearly alike that a soldier fighting under one and going over to another would not render himself liable to the charge of desertion. The Senator from New York (Seward) had made him a present of his speeches published by Redfield. He read extracts therefrom to show that Mr. Seward believed in a higher law than the Constitution, and had said slavery can and must be abolished, and you and I can and must do it—addressing a Northern auditory.

Mr. BROWN read a letter from Mr. Wilson to Wendell Phillips, to show the desire that was expressed that they might cooperate for the emancipation of slaves, and to break the dominion of the master.

Mr. WILSON explained: he desired Mr. Phillips to come on his platform; and it was not his intention to go on that of Mr. Phillips.

Mr. BROWN remarked that he had been assured, on good authority, that Wilson had recently at a hotel in Washington expressed an opinion that the slaves were justified in rising and murdering their masters, and he would not advise them not to do it.

Mr. WILSON denied that he ever, on any occasion, had such a thought or expressed such an idea.

Mr. BROWN rejoined that he had it in writing from a gentleman of high respectability, and would give him names of other witnesses testifying to the same thing. He would not now raise a question of variety with Mr. Wilson, but would give him the proof on which he based his statement, either now or in private, if he desired.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. CUMBACK, of Indiana, spoke in defence of the Republican party, turning the tables upon the President and advising him, before reading another lecture to the Republicans upon their want of fidelity to the Union, to direct his attention to the open-mouthed and avowed Disunionists of his own party.

Mr. ENGLISH, also of Indiana, replied to Mr. Cumback. We copy from the report:

Mr. English said it was not true, as charged by his colleague (Cumback), that the Democrats of Indiana in the late election pandered to the spirit of Free Soilism. They fought the battle on the principles enunciated by the Cincinnati Convention, and no attempt was made by them to dodge the issue. They met it fairly and squarely. His colleague (Cumback) was the last man who should have made that charge. Did he not know that in his own ranks there were not only Free Soilers but the Abolition party proper, and that the lowest and most God-forsaken negro advocates, including Black William Anderson, who has recently been arrested in Louisville as an abolition emissary was his (Cumback's) ally, and stumped a portion of Indiana denouncing the Democratic party as pro-slavery.

Mr. CUMBACK—Do I understand my colleague as charging that Anderson stood by me in the canvass of my district?

Mr. ENGLISH—I say that negro made Black Republican stump speeches at the same time my competitor made speeches.

Mr. CUMBACK—I never saw him.

Mr. ENGLISH—Other negroes were sent out to meet Gov. Willard, the latter canvassing on broad national grounds.

Mr. COLFAX—I heard something about this Anderson, namely, that he was sent to Elephant County, to make Republican speeches, but that the Republican Central Committee repudiated him, and charged that he had been hired by political opponents for this purpose. Does not my colleague know this is a matter of public notoriety? (Laughter.)

Mr. ENGLISH said he had never heard the charge and did not believe its truth. In the course of his remarks he asked whether there was a Southern man who would not vote for the admission of Kansas as a free State?

A VOICE—Not one.

Mr. ENGLISH—If the people of the South were willing to act in this spirit toward him why should he not act in a similar spirit toward them. The Democratic party had been purified. Free Soilism has dropped off, and any one can see where it has drifted in this Hall. They have got rid of sectionalists and gained National Whigs, and intended making war on Free Soilism, Sectionalism and Know-Nothingism to the bitter end.

Mr. BROOKS said, he, as a Democrat and South Carolinian, would vote for the admission of a State excluding slavery, provided this was agreed upon by a majority of actual settlers. He repudiated Squatter Sovereignty in a Territory as affecting Southern rights, and did not wish to lose the benefit of the Nebraska-Kansas bill.

On the 18th, the fire-eaters and filibusters had full sway. Says the correspondent of *The Tribune*:

Quitman and Branch and Davidson, all of the most Southern stripe, consumed the sitting without compunction. They devoted themselves specially to various metaphysical disquisitions on popular and other sorts of sovereignty, and by way of diversion turned their little guns from the Republican side into the American camp, pouring broadside after broadside into Humphrey Marshall and such like irreclaimable subjects. Marshall took the liberty of discharging an occasional battery at odd times, when he thought the subject worth the powder and ball, but the Chivalry had pretty full swing. Mr. Branch, in a paroxysm of zeal, announced, substantially, that the free States had no right to abolish slavery within their own jurisdiction, qualifying it with a reservation, unless their Constitutions expressly conferred the power. Considering this gentleman is one of the stars of State Rights, this is pretty broad doctrine. Why did he not go a step further, and deny the right unless the South consented? Then he would have reached the ultima thule of sectional devotion. Let New York look sharp after her Emancipation act, for Rip Van Winkle is clearing his eyes and wiping his horn-and-spectacles for a peep into her conditions. How the State House will quake when the news gets through the Snir of the old Knickerbockers!

A correspondent of the same paper predicts that the insurrectionary movements among the slaves are to be a topic of discussion in the House.

The discussion in the House has yet to take a turn which will provoke more intensity of feeling than has been exhibited since it begun. With every effort to keep the topic excluded, it must find entrance, and once in, the elements will be stirred to their profoundest depths. The recent insurrectionary movements in Tennessee will furnish the theme. They are far more grave than the local journals allow, and there has been a concerted attempt to suppress intelligence, fearing the infection in other parts. Whenever it is broached the Southern Americans will hold the Democracy to account, as the real authors of this lamentable affair, in which so many innocent lives have been sacrificed, under the deluded hope that Freedom was to be the recompense of their rash enterprise. They will hold the Democracy responsible for having made slavery the sole and absorbing subject of discussion—for having charged a party in the South as being identified with Northern sentiments, and for having proclaimed there was an abolition organization throughout the Southern States, ready to head the slaves in any hostile demonstration against their masters. It will be maintained that these and such like declarations were habitually made in the presence of slaves, stimulating their weak minds with false ideas, and encouraging such efforts as were recently exhibited. It is easy to imagine in what temper this arraignment will be answered, and how the war will be carried back into the enemy's country. The fanaticism for once will be all on one side, and whenever it begins it will be furious.

PROBABLE PURCHASE OF CUBA.—A Washington correspondent of the *Times*, whom, from his tone, we judge to be a sham Democrat, makes the following statement:

"It is beginning to be regarded as an established fact, by many of our best informed circles, that the United States will obtain possession of Cuba, during the next four years—not by blustering or violence, but in the peaceful way of purchase. When the subject of annexing Cuba was alluded to in the presence of John C. Calhoun, he was wont to exclaim, '*forbidden fruit! forbidden fruit!*' and the sentiment of nine out of ten of the more far-seeing statesmen of his day was embodied in these expressive words. . . . Young America has learned to despise such old fogy warnings. She considers the revelation, that 'Cuba will never cease to be a thorn in our side until she becomes a part of this Republic,' as one of the brightest rays ever cast upon our national pathway by the star of 'manifest destiny,' and treats as political heresy and depravation every obstacle to her annexation. Every inch of ground from Cape Horn to Baffin's Bay is properly ours, but *particularly Cuba*; and an Administration would be deemed faithless to its trust which should enter upon its duties with eyes not wide open to the popular craving for possession of the 'ever-faithful' island.

"The confident prediction, by Mr. Buchanan's friends, that Cuba, before 1860, will belong to the United States, does not, therefore, excite my wonder. I have noticed many symptoms, within the past few days, of a desire to renew agitation respecting Spanish matters, and the part of the President's message which refers to our unsettled relations with the Court of Madrid is adverted to, with great glee and satisfaction, by those who love to fish in troubled waters. The desired end will not, however, be attained, as a sequel to the Ostend Manifestoism, but by purchase. Either through mismanagement or want of proper energy, the efforts of Mr. Dodge to negotiate a commercial treaty have proved a total failure; but, on the other hand, the dogged resistance of Spain to the idea of sale is said to be diminished, and *it is pretended that the objections which were raised by England, two years ago, to the peaceful acquisition of the island, by the United States, will not be renewed.* The policy of Mr. Buchanan will be sufficiently conciliatory to mollify Spanish pride, which was offended by the fillibustering forays of 1853, and the insolence of Soulé, but firm and careful in choosing the most direct means to put an end to the vexed question of our relations with Cuba."

The idea that Cuba can be procured by honourable purchase is the absurdest of all possible dreams, and we presume it is thrown out merely as a cover to some new scheme of fillibustering villany.

THE SOUTHERN COMMERCIAL CONVENTION, which lately met at Savannah, rejected a resolution in favour of the restoration of the foreign slave trade by a vote of 64 to 18. Of the votes in favour of the trade 8 were cast by delegates from South Carolina, 6 by those from Tennessee, and 4 by those from Texas. The votes on the other side were distributed as follows: Alabama 9, Georgia 10, Maryland 8, North Carolina 10, Virginia 15, Tennessee 6, Louisiana 6.

The question has also received its quietus, for the present in the South Carolina Legislature.

The Southern Convention was a ridiculous affair, of course; and the Northern press generally treats it as such. The Providence *Journal* ridicules it mercilessly, as follows:

"In one respect this dignified and eminently practical body did not preserve that entire consistency which we are accustomed to look for in gatherings of this kind. Up to the hour of adjournment everything had been conducted on the most approved 'Southern principles,' that is to say, by talking and resolving. When the project of a line of first-class steamships between Charleston and New Orleans was under consideration, Mr. Peeples, of Georgia, foolishly—it would hardly be too much, under the circumstances, to say traitorously—suggested that each member of the Convention should subscribe $100 to the stock of the company. This was put right down; and the line was subsequently established in the customary way, by resolution. Schools and colleges, books on morals and religion, adapted to Southern principles, manufactures and mechanics arts were established in the same manner, and the South was placed in a condition to compete with the North in everything that makes a people great and prosperous. All this was done by resolutions and speeches, and which method has the immense advantage that it encounters no obstacles, and avoids all practical difficulties.

"But when the business of the Convention had been finished, and everything disposed of in the most satisfactory and conclusive way, a proposition was made to publish its proceedings, and it was voted to assess each member two dollars. This was against the whole spirit of the Convention; it was different from anything else that was done in it. It was just the way that the 'psalm-singing Yankees' would have done the same thing, and of course not at all as the Southern gentlemen should have done it. The proper way was to *resolve* that the proceedings of the Convention be published, and then to adjourn. There would have been a beautiful propriety in this; and there would have been this further advantage, that the published account would have made its appearance just as the first ship of the Southern European line was steaming out of Charleston harbour. This ship, we would venture to suggest, should be named 'The Resolutions,' not *Resolution*; the difference between the two has been frequently remarked.

"The tax of two dollars a head will operate as a largess to Northern fanatics. Instead of being wholly expended upon Southern industry and Southern productions, the book will be printed upon Yankee type, with ink that comes from New York, on paper that is shipped from Providence, and worked on a press that is made in Boston. Could anything be more unfortunate in a Southern Convention? Could anything be more inconsistent than this doing a thing in Yankee fact, rather than South Carolina resolution?"

A HOUSEHOLD NAME.—*The Liberator*, in a notice of "*Autumnal Leaves*," Mrs. Child's latest work, pays the following tribute to her genius and her long devotion to the anti-slavery cause:

"The name of Mrs. Child is a household one, on both sides of the Atlantic. How many homes she has gladdened, how many hearts inspired, by her admirable writings! Her rank is justly among the foremost women of the earth, for elevation of sentiment, nobleness of aim, love of humanity, and a world-embracing philanthropy, as well as for clearness and purity of diction, power of description, and affluence of imagination. She excels in what Burns calls 'the pith o' sense,' and combines the ideal and the practical in a rare degree. If she has been somewhat retired from the public eye for a few years past, it has not been to rest upon the laurels already won, nor for self-indulgence, but to meet the trials and discharge the duties of life, like a true heroine. A considerable portion of the time has been given to unceasing care and watchfulness of an aged father, long afflicted by a troublesome disease, and recently called to his final home; and never has filial affection been more resplendent than in her case. But, notwithstanding these hindrances to literary effort, her pen has not been idle. Her great work on the 'Progress of Religious Ideas,' comprising three volumes royal 12mo., is a lofty monument of her industry and research, and deserving of the widest circulation, as it is of the highest praise.

"In the remarkable change which has taken place in public setiment at the North, on the subject of slavery, during the last quarter of a century, much is due to her, by the reading public, by way of atonement. Her open and earnest espousal of the anti-slavery cause, at a very early period, and at the height of her literary popularity, was a noble act of self-sacrifice, and an event of no small importance. It cost her friends, reputation, pecuniary support, and subjected her to hostile influences such as few have been called to encounter. Our eyes moisten as we think of all that she voluntarily and generously essayed to do for 'that class of Americans called Africans,' before any one in her position condescended to be their advocate, in full view of public proscription and social ostracism. The value of her example was great and far-reaching, like that of the immortal Follen, whose memory is indissolubly connected with the sublime struggle for universal emancipation alike in the Old and in the New world. Every one who has since been quickened into anti-slavery life, or made to realize the hideousness of the slave system, should remember the toils and sacrifices of this excellent and gifted woman (to say nothing of the early testimonies and valuable labours of her husband in the same glorious cause), and take special pleasure in purchasing her works, both as a mark of personal regard and for their intrinsic worth."

THE REASON AVOWED.—There is at the North a class of persons who are blind and weak enough to suppose that the recent vote of so many Southern men in the U. S. House of Representatives against the revival of the foreign slave trade was dictated by a heartfelt conviction of the wickedness and inhumanity of that traffic, and that it is, therefore, to be regarded as an indication of a healthy public sentiment as well at the South as at the North. To such we commend this frank disclosure of the motives of the Virginia slave-breeders, contained in a letter to the New Orleans *Delta* from a correspondent in Richmond:

"The policy of reviving the slave trade is unpopular here, not more because of the hostile feeling which it would be likely to produce against the South among the leading European nations than of the ruin *which it would involve to the interests of this State and North Carolina, where large profits are derived from the trade in slave property.* It is in this respect that most profit accrues from the institution in these two States, Virginia in particular; for here our climate and soil is not adapted to the production of those staples—cotton, rice, sugar, etc.—which render slave labour most remunerative. *Our profit arises from the raising and sale of negroes.* With you it arises from their labour. In this state of things, it is not to be wondered that Virginia should be opposed to this policy, while no doubt it would result beneficially to the more Southern States."

If the laws against the foreign traffic in human flesh are still unrepealed, it is because the slaveholders themselves are divided upon the question. If *they* could agree upon the measure of repeal, their Northern allies would no doubt submit, while the poor half-baked and compromising Republicans would still shout, "Great is the Union—it must and shall be preserved!"

PLAIN SPEAKING.—*The Tribune*, in a recent article on the notorious corruptions shielded by the government of the City of New York, proclaims a very sugges ive truth in the following plain and explicit way:

"The natural antagonism between the industrious, sober, frugal and thrifty, on one side, and the idle, dissolute, knavish and Godless on the other, has been of late to a good extent broken over and effaced. The 'Know-Nothing' intrigue divided and paralyzed those who should have been the true conservative party of our city—conservative of justice, morality, liberty and law—while the slavery discussion has developed a new formation on the side of immorality and wrong. Nine-tenths of the gamblers, policy-sellers, brothel-keepers and grogshop-keepers of our city are united in solid phalanx under the banner of pro-slavery Democracy, and unhappily the commercial piety and respectability of our city, whereof *The Journal of Commerce* and *The New York Observer* are oracles, is temporarily rallied under the same banner. The thieves who burrow about the Five Points, and our cotton-brokers and cotton Doctors of Divinity are ranged politically under the same banner, and are equally exercised in spirit by the dangers which threaten the Union; their fears that fanaticism and abolitionism may subvert the Church and give our land over to Infidelity are mutual, and their view of the duties and responsibilities of the patriotic citizen surprisingly identical; and together they rally around the standard of Wood and Buchanan Democracy."

What a proof it is of the progress and power of the anti-slavery movement, that in the City of New York, where, twenty-five years ago, an Abolitionist was liable to have his house torn down over his head, a daily newspaper can tell such truth as this and *make money by it!*

RIGHTS OF COLOURED PEOPLE.—The case of J. W. C. Pennington versus the Sixth Avenue Railroad Company, which was an action for assault and battery founded upon the fact of the plaintiff's expulsion from one of the defendant's cars on account of his colour, was tried last week in the Superior Court, Judge Slosson presiding. Edward J. Phelps and F. A. Talmadge argued the cause of the plaintiff, while Messrs. Schell, Slesser and Hutchins appeared for the defendant. There was no serious difference as to the facts in the case, the Railroad Company admitting that the plaintiff had been expelled from the car, but contending that, as it had provided separate cars for the use of coloured persons, it could legally exclude any person of that class from the rest of its conveyances. The argument of Mr. Phelps (son of the late U. S. Senator from Vermont) for the plaintiff is said by those who listened to it to have done credit not only to his great ability as a lawyer but to his principles as a man. The Judge leaned strongly in favour of the wrong side, and the jury, after deliberating two hours, rendered a verdict in favour of the defendant. We learn that the case has been appealed to a higher court.

JOHN C. UNDERWOOD, an exile from Virginia since June last, and of whose recent return to that State our readers have been informed, has concluded not to attempt to renew his citizenship, but to sell his estate and seek a home elsewhere. The following advertisement in the Virginia papers may serve, with those who know the facts, to illustrate the attitude of that State toward such of her citizens as dare to be MEN:

PUBLIC SALE!

The undersigned will sell at his residence, in Clarke County, Va., on Monday, the 29th inst., at 10 o'clock, a.m., if not previously disposed of: Two span of horses, with gear; three farm wagons, and a quantity of farming utensils; 15 cows, young cattle; 40 hogs, sheep, household furniture and other articles too numerous to mention. A credit of nine months will be given on all purchases over $10, on interest from sale; for sums under $10, the cash will be required on delivery. J. C. UNDERWOOD.

Clarke County, Va., Dec. 9th, 1856.

O, ye chivalrous slavebreeders of the land of Washington and Jefferson! Ye may exult in driving away, by the terrors of persecution and Lynch law, a brave man who dared to remind you of your great sin and shame; but the day of retribution will come even to you.

"Wo if it come with blood, and storm, and fire,
When midnight darkness veils the earth and sky!"

SECTIONALISM.—The standing committees of the Senate have been appointed. *Not a single Senator representing the general sentiment of the North on the great question of the day has been appointed on one important committee.* The party which carried all New England, New York, Ohio, Iowa, Wisconsin and Michigan, which nearly divided Pennsylvania and Indiana and Illinois, has no representative on the chief committees—*not one.* This party is represented by some of the ablest, most experienced and most intelligent members of the Senate. It constitutes the powerful minority in the legislative branch of the Government. Always heretofore that minority has been assigned a place on the committees corresponding in some degree with its strength and importance. Now, for the first time in the history of the Government, the minority has been entirely ignored. And the party that does this, that gives all the committees to the Senators pledged to the sectional interests of the South, charges the neglected party with *sectionalism!—Providence Journal.*

Yes, and the party thus spit upon and trampled under foot still prates subserviently of its attachment to the compact which has always and inevitably made the North the prey of the Slave Oligarchy. We say, Down with such a Union!

A NOBLE DEED.—Some months since, a poor German neighbour of Gerrit Smith was charged with murder. A singular combination of unfavourable circumstances induced a general belief that he was guilty, and the public excitement against him was very strong. Mr. Smith visited the suspected man in the jail and became convinced that he was innocent. In the face of a hostile public sentiment, he volunteered his services as counsel for the poor German, spent nearly a thousand dollars from his own purse in collecting evidence, and argued his cause before the jury. By his untiring exertions the dark cloud of unfavourable circumstances was cleared up and the innocence of his client made manifest not only to the court and jury, but to the public. Mr. Smith, with characteristic beneficence, crowned his magnanimity by giving the poor German a small farm and $200 in money. Nobleness like this is its own praise and its own reward. We wish it were less rare.

BOSTON CORRESPONDENCE.—Part of an epistle from "D. Y.," after being delayed a whole day by the storm, arrived in time to be put in type for this number, but the last instalment, owing probably to the same cause, had not come to hand at the time of going to press. This calamity, we hope, will admonish our correspondent of the great importance of completing his valuable contributions, from time to time, in season to forward them in one envelope. He must understand that it is no slight matter to deprive the readers of THE STANDARD of the delectation for which they regularly look from his epistles.

FORNEY FOR SENATOR.—It is confidently asserted that Mr. Buchanan has written a letter expressing his preference of John W. Forney for U. S. Senator, and declaring that his election to that office would be no more than a suitable recognition of the important services he has rendered to the Democratic party. It is thought, however, by some, that the Democratic members of the Legislature cannot be induced to unite upon Forney, even under the pressure of Mr. Buchanan's influence, and that Gen. Simon Cameron, a supporter of Fremont, may be chosen.

THE TRIBUNE.—It is scarcely necessary for us to invite the attention of our readers to the prospectus of this journal in another column. Viewed from our stand-point *The Tribune* in its treatment of the slavery question, lacks consistency and thoroughness, but it is doing the cause of freedom high service by diffusing correct information of the workings of slavery and arousing the people in resistance to its extension. As a *newspaper* it has, on the whole, no peer.

THE LITTLE PILGRIM, GRACE GREENWOOD'S charming paper for children, commences a new volume with the January number. It is to appear hereafter in an octavo form, and the editor is to have the aid of many American and English writers. Among the latter are William and Mary Howitt. The number just issued opens with a story by Mr. Howitt, descriptive of Australian life, which is to be continued in several successive numbers. Fifty cents a year. L. K. Lippincott, Philadelphia, publisher.

APPEAL OF THE MANAGERS

OF THE TWENTY-THIRD

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR,

IN BEHALF OF THE CAUSE.

THE Bazaar will be opened on TUESDAY, Dec. 23, at 10 o'clock, A. M., HALL 15 WINTER STREET.

All that the Ladies-Managers resident in France, Switzerland and Italy could do, as well as those at home, conjointly with their friends in Great Britain, has been already successfully done, to make the Bazaar an unequalled occasion for the purchase of Christmas and New Year's Presents, and all sorts of beautiful and useful things. It now only remains for them to entreat general cooperation—the cooperation of all made aware by the recent teachings of the times, that the cause is their own no less than ours; that it is wisest to look far ahead in moral enterprises, nor spare toil nor treasure at the beginning.

☞We ask for donations of money. It will be spent, as aforetime, by the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in awakening that high, right-feeling in the hearts of men, which displaces corrupt statesmen, rebukes servile politicians, succours fugitive slaves, upholds the truth, stands by freedom, and defies tyranny, by demanding the immediate abolition of slavery. As our undertaking is *national*, we ask the help and sympathy of persons of every State and city of the nation to free our land from its now ruling curse.

☞We ask (to save expenses) of gentlemen friendly to our object, who are manufacturers and mechanics,

A number of pieces of Lowell Cotton,
Packs of blank Cards,
Reams of Note-Paper,
Envelopes to correspond,
Narrow gilt Picture-Frames;

and, without more specification, of all of such as they have, nothing doubting a great crowd of purchasers.

☞We entreat of friends in the country and city, for the Refreshment-Table, milk, cream, tea, sugar, coffee, eggs, bread, cake, crackers, butter, cheese, hams (thoroughly boiled), all kinds of cold cooked meats, potatoes, apples, and all sorts of preserved fruits.

Donations may be addressed to the Ladies-Managers at 21 Cornhill, Boston, Mass., or to 138 Nassau street, New York, or to either of the undersigned at their respective homes.

Maria Weston Chapman,	Mary May,
Louisa Loring,	Eliza Lee Follen,
Anne Warren Weston,	Ann Greene Phillips,
Sarah Shaw Russell,	Frances Mary Robbins,
Helen E. Garrison,	Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Sarah H. Southwick,	Mary Willey,
Abby Francis,	Ann Shaw Greene,
Eliza H. Apthorp,	Mary Gray Chapman,
Elizabeth Gay,	Henrietta Sargent,
Sarah Russell May,	Caroline Weston,
Susan C. Cabot,	Mary H. Jackson,
Sarah Blake Shaw,	Lydia D. Parker,
Eliza F. Eddy,	Evelina A. S. Smith,
Elizabeth Von Arnim,	Augusta King.

PHILADELPHIA FAIR AND CONVENTION.—We had hoped to lay before our readers, this week, some account, from our Philadelphia Correspondent, of the Fair and Convention held, last week, in that city. We are sorry to disappoint them, as the occasion was one, as we happen to be able to testify, well worthy a description. We think we may safely promise that somebody will try a hand at some account of it for our next paper.

THE Milwaukee *Free Democrat*, a Republican journal and one of the best in the country, made its appearance early in the present month in new and beautiful type and on an enlarged sheet.

Summary.

The great Dr. Johnson once gave as a toast, when in company with some Oxford men: "Here's to the next insurrection of the negroes in the West Indies."

Mr. Burlingame's health is so broken that he has signified to his friends in Providence his inability to pay them a promised visit during the holidays.

Although Mr. Bernheisel, the Delegate from Utah, has had in his possession for months past an application from the people of that Territory for admission as a State into the Union, he will not present it this session.

The Seventh Day Baptist Church at Walworth, Wis., has excommunicated all its members that refused to vote for Fremont at the late election.

Father Mathew, the renowned Apostle of Temperance, died at Cork on the 9th of December. His career has been remarkable, and his influence among his countrymen in Great Britain and America will long be felt.

When the President entered Thalberg's concert at Carusi's Saloon last evening, a group of clerks near the door began to applaud, but they were soon silenced by the hissing of other portions of the audience.—*Wash. Cor. of The Tribune.*

YOUNG AMERICA.—*Anxious parent, who has just finished whipping a child three years old.*—"Now, my child, I hope you will be good, so that I shall not have to whip you again."

Child.—"If you must whip any one, you'd better whip one of your size." Fact.—*Evening Post.*

CANNIBALS CONVERTED.—It is said that on the Fejee Islands from 30,000 to 40,000 are daily brought under the direct teaching of Christianity, and into close contact with the word of God. The grass has grown over the ovens where human victims used to be prepared for food, and thousands assemble every Sabbath day to hear words whereby they may be saved.

NATIVE SCULPTORS.—Mr. Wilson, the successful young sculptor, not long since returned from Italy, has just completed an admirable bust in marble of young Gibbons, who died so suddenly at Harvard College about a year since. Mr. Ellis has also just finished a striking bust of Prof. Carnochan. These works may be seen at their studio at Appleton's Building.

A FALSE RUMOUR ABOUT SENDING BENTON TO THE SENATE.—The St. Louis *Democrat* says that the story of an alliance between the Benton men of Missouri and the Know-Nothings, for the purpose of electing Benton and Kennett United States Senators, is made out of whole cloth. It further contends that the story had its origin in the columns of the Missouri *Republican*, and has been kept up by the *Evening News* in order to poke fun at the *Republican*.

The South is hailing the appearance of a "Reply to Dred"—in a novel entitled "Tit for Tat," by a lady of New Orleans. Of its merits we know nothing, except from the eulogies of the Southern press, at which no one need be surprised. The maternal parent, it is said, will cluck more over one chicken than her more fortunate neighbour over a whole brood. The name of the fair author is not disclosed.—*Eve. Post.*

EQUALITY OF REPRESENTATION.—At the late election, the District in Iowa represented in Congress by the Hon. James Thorington cast nearly 55,000 votes. The 1st District of South Carolina, represented by the Hon. John McQueen, polled in all about 7,540 votes. Mr. Thorington's District polled more votes than there are in the whole State of South Carolina.

THE MOB OF NOVELS.—Within the last three years, the country has been flooded with novels, mostly written by women. We have been lately told that the sale of these books has fallen off astonishingly, and the demand has almost ceased. This fact should encourage the ladies to stop. Go out washing, take in sewing, attend to the children, nurse the sick, do anything honest and useful, but do stop writing wishy-washy, namby-pamby, milk-and-water, sentimental, love stories.

Mr. Woodson, the Secretary of Kansas, is to receive the fate of his late coadjutors. Mr. Spence, the new Marshal of Kansas, is a double-dyed-in-the-wool Hunker, indorsed by such specimens of Pro-Slaveryism as Mr. Medary, the editor of *The Ohio Statesman*, Douglas's organ, who is here endeavouring to get the Postmaster-Generalship under Buchanan. He is urged by Douglas with much zeal.—*Wash. Cor. of The Tribune.*

DEATH FROM CIRCUMCISION.—An inquest was held yesterday by Coroner Hills upon the body of Julius Katzenstein, an infant nine days old, whose parents reside at No. 384 Eighth street. The verdict of the Jury was, "That the said infant came to his death by loss of blood from the operation of circumcision and subsequent neglect, through ignorance on the part of the parents."—*Tribune.*

TWO NEW FREE STATE TOWNS IN KANSAS!—The boot, shoe and leather trade of the city of Boston have subscribed the sum of $20,000 to the stock of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. They intend to invest it in the purchase of two saw-mills, and in making improvements wherever they are erected. Thus two new towns will be founded in Kansas in the Spring.

THE AUTHOR OF "COSMOS."—Baron Humboldt attained his eighty-seventh birthday on Sunday week, which he passed in strict retirement. It will be gratifying to the many admirers of this "Nestor of Science" in this country, to hear, that though he finds it expedient to withdraw somewhat from the more noisy exhibitions of society, he remains intellectually fresh and vigorous in the enjoyment of his honoured green old age. The mantle of this illustrious man will, doubtless, fall upon his pupil Agassiz, who is destined to be his successor in the realm of Natural Science.

ARRIVAL OF DR. KANE FROM ENGLAND—*St. Thomas, Dec.* 3, 1856.—Probably it will be of interest to you to know that Dr. Kane, the Arctic explorer, has arrived at this retired little island. He arrived here a night in the packet steamer from Europe, on his way to the island of Cuba. His health appears greatly impaired. He caught a severe cold in Europe, and looks as if he was suffering from consumption. Dr. K. remains here a fortnight; then will proceed to Havana. He has been kindly received by all our resident Americans. It is to be hoped that the change of climate will be of benefit to his health.

CONSERVATIVES.—In his lecture in Cincinnati the other night, Wendell Phillips, who has very little respect for "Conservative men," spoke of them as "men who hardly dared to tie their neck cloths without a permit from a Justice of the Peace." Prentice rather quotes this definition in a recent editorial, in which he says there are some men so conservative that if they had been entrusted with the task of the creation, they would have folded their arms supinely at the threshold for fear of insulting Chaos.—*St. Louis Democrat.*

HOW SLAVES LOVE THEIR MASTERS.—Negro property is becoming so precarious, owing to the machinations of the Abolitionists, the slaveholders of Western Virginia are generally taking measures to guard against their losses by disposing of them to those who will carry them beyond the reach of the underground railroad. A few days since, Mr. Joseph S. Mason, of Richmond, fifteen slaves, old and young, for the sum of eight thousand one hundred and fifty dollars. Mr. William Love also sold to the same gentleman, two likely girls and a boy for two thousand four hundred and fifty dollars.—*Point Pleasant (Va.) Republican.*

Among the names added to our subscription list yesterday, wholly unsolicited and unexpected, is that of the Hon. Rufus Choate, of Massachusetts; the Daniel Webster of the present day.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

As it is not at all probable that Mr. Choate has been up to the present time deprived of the political ministrations of the *Journal*, the painful suspicion is forced upon us that he has been a *borrower* for many years. We rejoice that he has abandoned that class of persons so odious to all newspaper publishers. The *Journal* does not state whether he availed himself of the ten per cent. discount to those who pay in advance.—*Boston Telegraph.*

IN LUCK.—Bayard Taylor, the traveller and poet, is a fortunate fellow. When he was travelling in the east, he fell in with a German gentleman, between whom and himself sprang up a strong friendship, founded on mutual liking. At length they parted—each to his native country—but without promise of correspondence; and it was some time before Taylor heard from his German friend. The missive, when it came, was startling, however. It was a formal conveyance to him of an estate, to belong to him and his heirs—a free gift, and given irreversibly, as a pledge and token of friendship. He describes it in one of his late letters from Goetha to the *Tribune*. It stands near the Thuringian forest. It is a most beautiful residence and was built by one of the ministers of Duke Ernest II, in 1760.

FOLLIES OF THE BRITISH ARISTOCRACY.—The *Day Book* gravely informs its readers that "The British Aristocracy have laboured for half a century, and expended six hundred millions of money to demoralize and destroy the existing condition of American society." This is what may be called decidedly rich. It required a very vigorous and prolific imagination to produce such an idea as that. We had never supposed that the British aristocracy was altogether immaculate, nor that, as a body, it was a compound of the highest wisdom, but we never suspected it of being so utterly and hopelessly daft as to desire to demoralize American Society, much less that it was foolish enough to expend such a frightful sum of money in so ridiculous an undertaking.—*Times.*

Rev. Daniel Waldo, Chaplain of the House of Representatives, "is now in his *ninety-fifth year*, erect, hearty, hale and vigorous as a man of sixty. He was a graduate of Yale, and a class-mate and room-mate of Hon. Jeremiah Mason; was a Chaplain of the revolutionary army, suffered imprisonment in the horrible sugar house prison in New York, from which he escaped with life barely, and on account of which he now draws a pension from Government. He is now the oldest living graduate from Yale. Before his election as Chaplain, he was the pastor of the Congregationalist church at Manlius, N. Y., over which he has presided for the last *seventy years*. He now studies many hours a day without more than usual inconvenience, and while at home frequently walks to Syracuse and back, nearly five miles. While we were conversing, an aged, white-haired, but vigorous old man of about sixty-five or seventy years took the vacant seat next to us, when Mr. Waldo introduced the new comer as *his son*."—*Washington Cor. of The Boston Traveller.*

FAMILY SECRETS COMING OUT.—At a recent meeting in North Carolina, Kenneth Rayner publicly stated that during the late canvass "a gentleman of his acquaintance in Philadelphia was approached by an emissary from Forney, the Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, who told him if he would exert himself, not for the Democratic party, but for the straight Fillmore ticket, $100,000 *would be placed to his credit in any bank he might select.*" He also said that Mr. Sanderson, the head of the straight Fillmore division has, since the election, purchased a house worth $20,000; although it was well known he had not, for many a month previous, been worth anything pecuniarily. The credibility of this exposure is increased by the manner in which it was brought out. Mr. Rayner, in order to clear himself from the stigma of Abolition, goes into the camp of the enemy and tells them how much they were benefitted by this same Fillmore diversion. The above statement is one of the incidents of his defence.—*Boston Telegraph.*

A QUAKER BARGAIN.—Some few years since a merchant, who lived upon the Eastern seabord, bargained with an honest Quaker for a lot of cider. It was delivered upon the wharf in due time, neatly barrelled, and the bungs carefully covered with tins nicely and strongly nailed down. The buyer being a shrewd and careful man, always right after his business, took a notion that he would try the wares before he sent them off. Accordingly he ripped up one tin and knocked out the bung of a barrel, inserted his proof glass and found that the liquor was very far from being what the Quaker had showed him, and what he bargained for. He tried another, and another—it was all the same—a villainous mixture of hard, musty cider, with molasses and water. He sought out the sanctified seller and demanded an explanation. Old Broadbrim was cornered, but not nonplussed or in the least abashed; he owned up, for he could not do otherwise; but with the blandest and smoothest manner possible excused himself by saying, "Friend Jennings, I thought thee was to ship it into a far off country."—*Boston Post.*

At least four of the Territories are expected to present themselves for admission as free States during Mr. Buchanan's administration. We take it that the South will endeavour to keep pace with this movement by making an equal number of slave States out of Texas and California. If the Northern Democracy will come up like men, and vote for slave States *pari passu* with free States, we will take back every hard word we ever said about them in our lives. If they fail to do it, then it will be time enough to fall back upon Mr. Rhett's scheme of a Southern Confederacy, and see what can be made out of it. If the North degrade us to a position of inferiority and dependence, we will have no other remedy. But we ought to exhaust every effort of pacification, short of an absolute surrender of our national and constitutional rights, before entertaining any proposition for the destruction of that Union under which we have advanced to our present condition of prosperity and power.—*Richmond Whig.*

A STRONG VOTE.—Eleven Republican members of the next Congress from the State of New York received an aggregate of 132,549 votes, being an average of 12,950 each. The highest vote among them was 14,717; the lowest was 9,363. Their names are Dodd, Spinner, Goodwin, Hoard, Granger, Morgan, Pottle, Parker, Kelsey, Sherman, Fenton.

The seven slaveholding States of Delaware, Maryland, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, which gave at the last election thirty-five electoral votes for Mr. Buchanan, being 12 per cent of the whole, cast only 126,979 votes for the Buchanan electors; while 132,549 votes in New York give only 11 electoral votes for Fremont. Each of those Fremont electors represents 12,959 free votes. Each of the other Buchanan electors represents only 3,628, being a little more than a quarter. In other words, one voter in those States could help Buchanan as much as four voters in those Districts of New York could help Fremont.—*Independent.*

LIFE AND WORKS OF JOHN ADAMS.—The biographical portion of the work is worthy of all praise. The first part of it, occupying about eighty-nine pages, and bringing down the narrative to the year 1770, is from the pen of John Quincy Adams; the rest, the main, and, we may add, by far the more interesting part, is the work of Charles Francis Adams, who has executed the task with an ability worthy the subject. Clearly understanding the character of his grandfather; ardently sympathizing with his lofty spirit of independence; thoroughly informed in regard to his acts and those of his cotemporaries, and their relations to each other; keen in his insight into human nature; careful in his investigation of evidence; inflexible in his devotion to Truth; comprehensive in his views, and withal an accomplished scholar, he has given to the public one of the finest and most valuable biographies of modern times. In this connection we cannot help remarking that it is a shame to Massachusetts that a man, bearing the honoured name of Adams, and inheriting so many of the great qualities of that revolutionary family, should be absent at such a cris

Miscellaneous Department.

For The Standard.

THE FISHERMAN'S ECHO.

"The bruised reed He will not break."

Nay, 'tis not in a fisherman's song
The heart of a woman to sever;
Not if that frail thing be less strong
Than the rush leaning o'er the dark river;
God never hath done this dark wrong—
God never permitted it! Never!

The heart may be swayed by those tones
Whose music a deep thought concealeth:
The reed may be bruised, and give moans
Whose pathos the wind's breath revealeth,
But the wave rippling o'er the cold stones
Softly murmurs of pity, that healeth.

The fisherman's most careless song,
Like the boatman's, a deep woe may cover;
He, not idly, the strains may prolong,
As o'er his emotions they hover:
Though the day of life's service seem long,
The stream whispers, "soon 'twill be over."

The leaves of the green tree must fall;
Just stricken they were, and are dying:
Too brief was their glory for pall;
They but donned their bright vesture for flying:
Thus God strikes the soul he would call,
To rise in the midst of its sighing.

Then deem not thy heart He would break
By the stroke which, to heal, He hath given:
His dart to thy soul humbly take:
In kindness the proud heart is riven;
The truth which Christ's fishermen spake
Hath been echoed, to fit thee for Heaven. A. P. C.

Milney, Oct. 5, 1856.

PAULINE BONAPARTE.

Marie Pauline Bonaparte, the second sister of Napoleon, and the most beautiful, wayward, fashionable and dissolute of princesses, was born at Ajaccio, in 1780.

In 1796, at Milan, Pauline married Gen. Charles Emmanuel Leclerc, who had already rendered Bonaparte efficient service in the Italian campaign. Pauline neither assented to the alliance nor did she reject it; she simply yielded to her brother's desire that it should be consummated. Professing, and doubtless feeling, the most complete indifference to her husband, she soon entered upon a career of intrigue and infidelity. Lafon, the brilliant young tragedian of the Comedie Française, was one of her first lovers. This connection became public then, and has become historical since.

Bonaparte soon formed the plan of repressing the insurrection of the blacks in St. Domingo. An immense fleet was formed, of which Villaret Joyeuse was made admiral, Leclerc obtaining the appointment of general-in-chief, with thirty-five thousand picked men under his command. Pauline was surprised and alarmed at receiving a requisition—not from her husband, for that she would have treated with derision—but from her brother, to accompany the General upon his expedition. Leclerc himself would gladly have dispensed with the society of his faithless and capricious, though beautiful, wife. But the First Consul dreaded the possible scandal which her conduct would occasion, if left alone, and accordingly insisted upon her following her legal guardian to the tropics. "Good heavens!" she said to Madame Junot, "how can my brother be so hard-hearted and wicked as to send me into exile among savages and serpents. Besides, I am ill, and I shall die before I get there." The spoiled child here sobbed with such violence, that Madame Junot knew of but one means of consolation. She accordingly took her by the hand, and told her that she would be queen of the island, and would ride in a palanquin; that slaves would watch her looks and execute her wishes; that she would walk in groves of orange trees, arrayed in the bright colours of a Creole costume. By this time, Pauline's hysterics had entirely ceased. "And do you really think, Laurette, that I shall look prettier than usual in a Creole turban, a short waist, and a skirt of striped muslin?" She then sent for a package of bandanna handkerchiefs, one of which Madame Junot fantastically knotted into her hair. Her delight was unbounded when she found that the country where she had expected to be devoured might be the scene of new triumphs in the toilet, and afford her an occasion for innovations in fashion. "Oh! those lovely mountains," she exclaimed, "we will have a fete every day, and a ball every night."

While the general was organizing his fleet, Pauline was preparing her wardrobe. Madame Germon, M'lles Despaux and l'Olive, Leroy, Copp, Foucier and Biennais, contributed, each in their department, to the more harmless of the two batteries which the squadron was to convey across the seas. Had the flag-ship l'Ocean been captured on her way, the enemy might with good reason have wondered at the prodigious store of articles of female apparel and adornament they would have found comprising her cargo—a singular equipment for a vessel bound upon so severe an errand. They might also have expressed surprise at the luxurious arrangement of the ship—at its boudoir, its conservatory, its mirrors, its pantry. Its lovely passenger meant to have no possible desire ungratified, and her reluctant husband and her indulgent brother were willing to yield to her inclinations. She sailed from Brest in December, 1801, the whole squadron consisting of twenty-two frigates and thirty-five ships of the line.

"The First Consul wished that his sister," says de Salgues, "like another Cleopatra, should embellish with her presence and her charms the admiral's vessel: in spite of her refusal, she was taken to Brest, and there put on shipboard. This rigour of Bonaparte towards a sister whom he seemed to love tenderly astonished the public; but justification was found in the assertion that the princess was violently in love with a young and brilliant comedian, and Bonaparte saw no surer remedy than to put 1,200 leagues between the beauty and her lover."

Two poets were sent out with the squadron, MM. Esmenard and Norvins. The latter has left an account of the voyage and the campaign, too poetic to be altogether reliable. He represents Pauline as reclining upon the quarter-deck, and surrounded by her court—the officers of the staff—and reminding all conversant with the classics of the maritime Venus and the Galatea of the Greeks.

The expedition was disastrous in every sense. Gen. Leclerc proved totally incompetent, and the splendid army under his command was well-nigh destroyed by battle and fever. The general died of a lingering disease, and Pauline caused his body to be embalmed and placed in a triple cedar coffin. In this coffin she concealed her jewels and treasures, and embarked with them on board the Swiftsure, homeward bound.

She returned to France in a costume very different from that in which she set out—she went in bandanna and returned in black. On reaching Paris, she gave way to a paroxysm of grief and despair, which seemed too ostentatious to be sincere. She even cropped her luxuriant hair, and for a time refused to be comforted. Society doubted the reality of her affliction, while Napoleon openly scoffed at it. "Has Pauline cut off her hair?" he asked. "Then it is because she knows it will grow again, richer and thicker than ever."

Napoleon desired that she should wear her weeds with propriety, and consequently placed her under the care of his brother Joseph and his wife. Her inclination for retirement did not last, and she reproached Napoleon vehemently for keeping her in confinement. "Oh, dear me!" she said, "I shall certainly sink under this. If my brother determines to shut me from the world, I shall put an end to my existence at once." To this, General Junot, who was present, replied that he had often heard of the Venus de Medici, of the Venus Anadyomene, but never of a Venus Suicide. This comparison revived the disconsolate beauty, and she requested her former suitor to come and see her frequently.

In 1803, Bonaparte's plans for making himself Emperor were nearly completed. An opportunity now occurred of accustoming the French to princely honours and titles in his family. Don Camillo Borghese, the heir to the finest villa, palace and picture-gallery in Italy, the representative of one of the most illustrious Italian families, being compelled to leave Rome for political reasons, visited Paris, and was presented to Bonaparte. The latter conceived an affection for him, made him a French citizen and major of a mounted regiment in the Consular Guard, and speedily arranged a match between him and Madame Leclerc. The prince was under the middle size; his countenance was handsome, but without expression. His education had been much neglected, and his principal accomplishments were those of a skilful swordsman and an experienced jockey. The marriage took place on the 6th of November, 1803. Pauline was thus the first of Bonaparte's family to wear a coronet. The faubourg St. Germain smiled and said, "Well, one of them is a real princess after all."

The ceremonious presentation of Pauline, after her marriage, to Josephine, was an epoch in her frivolous and fantastic life. Her detestation of Josephine, which was so ill concealed as to be notorious, and which arose from jealousy, led her on this occasion to make a display of magnificence such as France had hardly witnessed since Louis XV. Josephine, in her domestic differences with Pauline, acted solely upon the defensive: she accepted a contest forced upon her, and which she did nothing to provoke. On this occasion—one which, from the circumstances of her sister-in-law's marriage, foreshadowed the regal destinies of the family—she resolved to dispute with her at once the palm of beauty and the supremacy of taste. The presentation was to take place in the grand saloon of St. Cloud, the furniture and decorations of which were blue and gold. She adapted her toilet to this condition of the accessories in the midst of which she was to appear.

She wore a dress of white India muslin, though the season was Winter. The skirt was more voluminous than the prevailing fashion warranted; this innovation was one of her own suggesting. The lower hem was trimmed with a single band of gold, of the width of the finger. The bodice was heavily draped in thick folds and fastened upon the shoulders by two golden lions' heads, set in black enamel. The girdle, embroidered with gold, was attached in front by a clasp of black enamel and gold. The sleeves were short and full, descending but little below the shoulders, and displaying the wearer's remarkably handsome arms.

Her head-dress was that represented upon antique cameos. Her hair was gathered into a knot upon the top, and enclosed in a net-work of golden chains, crossing each other at right angles, each square containing a black enamelled rosette. Her necklace, bracelets and ear-rings were of the same material. Bonaparte, on coming into the salon, was struck by this beautiful, though severely simple, attire, and, kissing Josephine on the shoulder, said, "Why, I shall be jealous, Josephine: have you designs on any one?" "Oh no," she replied, "I knew you liked to see me in white, and I have dressed in white; nothing more." "Well, if you did it to please me, you have succeeded."

Madame Borghese was expected at eight o'clock; but as she had not made her appearance at half-past eight, Bonaparte lost patience, and retired to his cabinet. The princess, with her first chamberlain—the flattering title given by the public to her husband—arrived at a quarter-past nine, and consequently did not see her brother. The splendour of her equipage was unprecedented since the commencement of the Revolution: her carriage, built for her new dignity and decorated with the arms of the Borghese family, was drawn by six horses; an outrider before and another behind, and three lackeys bearing torches, completed the pomp of the cavalcade. The prince and princess were announced by an usher who forgot the Republic and foresaw the Empire, for he cried "Monseigneur le Prince et Madame Princesse Borghese." The company assembled in the parlour rose to their feet. Josephine stood directly in front of her chair, without advancing to meet her guests; and on the appearance of her resplendent sister upon the threshold, showed by a passing flush upon her cheek that the lovely and gorgeous apparition had sent a pang to her heart. Pauline was that night a marvel of beauty and a miracle of effulgence.

Her robe was of pale green velvet. The front and hem of the skirt were absolutely loaded with diamonds; the bodice and sleeves were embroidered with diamond wreaths and diamond clusters. Diamonds encircled her neck and enlaced her arms. Her diadem was composed of emeralds set in diamonds; and her bouquet was formed of emeralds, diamonds and pearls. Golconda had been rifled for this incrustation of gems; and the princess who bore the burden was worth, on this memorable occasion, exactly three millions and three-quarters in jewels alone!

Josephine promptly recovered from the shock of Pauline's unequalled loveliness, and the conversation became general. The following dialogue ensued between Pauline and Madame Junot, who was present at the introduction:

"Well," said the former, "how do I look to-night?"

"Deliciously! At once beautiful and magnificent."

"Oh, you love me, and so you spoil me."

"No, I mean what I say, child; but why did you come so late?"

"Oh, I arranged that on purpose; I was afraid of finding you at table. I do not mind missing Napoleon: it was Josephine that I wanted to meet and crush. Oh, Laurette, Laurette, see how disconcerted she is! Oh, I am so happy!"

"Hush! you may be heard."

"What matters that? I do not love her! She meant to annoy me, just now, by not advancing to meet me, and thus making me cross the *salon*, but she did me the greatest favour on the contrary."

"How so, pray?"

"Because my train would not have had time or space to unfold, had she greeted me half way; as it was, every one could see and admire the whole of it. After all, Josephine is well dressed! White and gold make a fine contrast with the deep blue of the furniture and hangings. Oh! dear me! Ah! mon Dieu!"

"Why, Paulette, what is the matter?"

"Why, did I not think of the colour of the room? And why did not you, Laurette—you, who are my friend and sister—why did you not put me on my guard?"

"You knew as well as I that the grand salon of St. Cloud is blue."

"Yes, but in my anxiety and hurry, I forgot it, and so I have come here in a green gown to sit down in a blue chair! I am sure I must be hideous! Green and blue! What is the name of that green and blue revolutionary ribbon? Oh, I remember: "Prejudice overcome." I must be very ugly, dear, am I not? The reflection of these two colours must ruin me. Well, it can't be helped now. Come with me back to Paris, Laurette, to-night."

"Oh, no. Think of your husband and your honeymoon that I should interrupt."

"Honeymoon! Honeymoon with that idiot! You are jesting, I suppose."

"No, I was serious. But, if I shall not break in upon a *tete-a-tete*, I'll accept your invitation, and return with you to Paris."

The prince and princess soon set off for Rome, where Pauline's son by General Leclerc, and the only child she ever had, sickened and died. It was at this time that Canova executed the statue of the princess—perhaps his *chef-d'œuvre*. It is a semi-nude figure, modelled from life, and represented as half reclining upon a couch; the manner and expression strongly recall the venus of Praxiteles. The statue is known as the Venus Victorious. Pauline, whose audacity in reply was often as remarkable as the irregularity of her conduct, furnished Rome, and, indeed, Europe, with a theme for scandal, by a remark made in reference to the statue, many years later, to Madame Junot. The latter expressed her surprise that the princess should have submitted to such an exposure of her person. "What, you, madame, you were yourself the model, and in Canova's studio?" "Oh, dear me, yes; why not? There was a good fire!" The sister of Napoleon supposed that Madame Junot referred to the inconvenience of the exhibition, and not to its indelicacy. "There is in this reply," says Capefigue, "a dash of that cynic impudence of the Roman women in their decline, which the indignation of Juvenal has branded by his 'Gannit in amplexu.'"

The young bride soon tired of her husband, who, in a measure, seems to have deserved the humiliating title she had given him at St. Cloud. She could not be prevailed upon to remain in Rome, and, late in the year 1805, hastened back to Paris, leaving Don Camillo behind her. She graciously granted him permission to follow, or to stay away, at his choice. For a time he chose the latter.

Napoleon had now become Emperor, and was beset by a passion for royalty. He made his brothers kings, and to his sisters he gave duchies and principalities. On Elisa, the eldest, he bestowed the republic of Lucca and Piombino; Caroline he made Grand Duchess of Berg; then came the turn of the princess Pauline. She was created Duchess of Guastalla. "Even a mole-hill," we are told, "seemed too much for her to govern. Had there been kingdoms in the air, as in the time of the sylphs, she might have been enveloped in a pink and blue cloud, richly perfumed, and sent to reign in those fortunate regions where the sceptre of government is a sprig of flowers. This, however, did not suit her: her tears and her pretty airs amused her brother for a time; but as it was not in his nature to be patient, he became angry at last. The princess Elisa discovered that Lucca and Piombino were miserable principalities. She complained; the princess Caroline complained; the princess Pauline complained; it was a chorus of grievances. "Once for all," exclaimed the Emperor, "what does all this mean? Will these ladies never be content? One would really think we were sharing the inheritance of the late king our father."

As Napoleon divided the week, Pauline's evening for reception was Wednesday. She did less to promote gaiety and sociability than any member of the family. She was too indolent to make any other preparation than that of her own toilet, beforehand, or to listen during the evening to anything beyond her own praises. She was negligent of her guests, among whom were very few handsome women—a circumstance due to a special contrivance of her own. Her list of invitations was drawn up by Duroc, Grand Marshal of the Tuileries, and when he proposed the name of any one of whose appearance Pauline was jealous, she usually induced him, by pretty airs and arch objections, to erase it. Sometimes he hesitated: "Why exclude her?" he says; "are there ever too many handsome women?" "Oh, I shall be there, and you can admire me, Duroc, as much as you like." She would then smile, and Duroc would draw his pen through the offending name. And thus the peerless beauty was tranquilized. With the single exception of Josephine, no lady in France displayed greater taste in dress than Pauline. In fact, she thought of little else than the prosecution of her intrigues and the occupations of her toilet. Her entrance into a ball-room rarely failed to elicit a murmur of admiration; on one occasion, says an enthusiast, she absolutely illumined the palace. She wore, on the evening in question, a dress which she said should immortalize her, and upon which she was engaged for seven consecutive days, to the exclusion of any other avocation. Her head-dress consisted of narrow bands of soft fur, of a tiger pattern; these bands were surmounted by bunches of golden grapes. Her robe was of fine India muslin, with a deep bordering of gold, the pattern being grapes and vine-leaves. Her tunic was Greek in form, and displayed her figure to admirable advantage; it was attached at the shoulders by fine stone cameos. Her girdle consisted of a gold band, the clasp of which was a richly-fashioned antique stone. Her beautiful arms were adorned with bracelets formed of gold and cameos. Pauline possessed one quality, rare in so pretty a woman: she did not compromise her beauty by affectation, or, at least, her sense of her own matchless loveliness, as she manifested it in her manner, went no farther than what may be termed consciousness.

Don Camillo subsequently returned from Rome, and was made a prince of the French Empire by Napoleon. He distinguished himself at several of the Prussian battle-fields, and in 1808 was made Governor-General of Piedmont and Genoa, which Napoleon had just annexed to France under the title of "Departments beyond the Alps." He at once set out for Turin, his capital, taking Nice, where Pauline was spending the Winter for her health, on his way, for she had consented to share his new dignity with him. Her imperial highness was a poor traveller, and bore the fatigue of posting with great impatience. The equerry, M. de Montreton, found ample occupation in building a fortress of cushions around the illustrious invalid, while the ladies of honour relieved each other in the duty of sitting upon her feet, to keep them warm.

Pauline was not long contented at Turin, although her husband held a sumptuous vice-regal court. Her position did not please her, for she had expected to be first, and found herself only the third. The first dignitary of Piedmont was an unoccupied arm-chair, which, by a diplomatic fiction, was supposed to represent the Emperor of the French and King of Italy; behind this chair stood the highest functionaries of the government, as if attending Napoleon himself. The second dignitary was the Governor-General, who subjected the imperious and haughty Duchess of Guastalla to the gross indignity of being inferior in official importance to himself. So Pauline abandoned Prince Camillo at Turin, precisely as she had done at Rome, and returned to Neuilly and Paris. Her husband did not seek to retain or to recall her; he continued to administer the government with success, and to entertain foreigners with hospitality, till the fall of Napoleon in 1814, when he restored Piedmont to Austria and returned to his patrimonial palace at Rome.

Pauline, upon her arrival in France from Turin, divided her time between the Tuileries and her chateau at Neuilly. She had never striven to conceal her intrigues with the various gentlemen who were successively the heroes of her transitory attachments; she now even sought publicity and scandal. The most conspicuous of her liaisons, coming to the knowledge of Napoleon, ended fatally for the young man who was the object of it. M. Jules de Canouville was a young, courteous and dashing colonel of hussars, and soon became the favourite of the princess. Not satisfied with the conquest itself, he desired the reputation of it. This he soon obtained, and to his heart's content. The court dentist, M. Bousquet, one day received a professional summons from Pauline. He was conducted to her boudoir, where he found a very elegant young man, negligently clad in a dressing-gown. He was gracefully extended upon a sofa, and begged the dentist "to be careful of the teeth of his Paulette." The innocent Mr. Bousquet naturally took this considerate gentleman to be Don Camillo Borghese. He promised to use due caution. Throughout his stay the supposed husband enjoined unscrupulous attention upon the operator. As the dentist left the apartment of her imperial highness, the ladies of the household, the chamberlains, &c., gathered around him, and inquired the result of his visit. "The princess is doing very well," he replied, "and must be gratified at the tender attachment of her august husband, which he has just manifested before me in the most touching manner. His anxiety was very great, and I could with difficulty convince him of the safety of the simple measures I proposed. I shall acquaint every one with what I have seen. It is agreeable to be able to cite such examples of conjugal love in so elevated a rank. I am really quite penetrated." The ante-chamber was convulsed with laughter, but the good dentist was allowed to depart full of his generous illusion. The young man in the dressing-gown was M. Jules de Canouville. This connection came to Napoleon's knowledge in the following manner:

Alexander of Russia had given him, at Erfurth, three superb sable pelisses. One of these the Emperor sent to Pauline, and she gave it to her lover. Some days after, at a review upon the Place du Carrousel, M. de Canouville's horse became unruly, and threw the manœuvres into confusion; the rider thus attracted Napoleon's attention. He observed that the pelisse given to his sister had been transformed into a hussars dolman. "M. de Canouville," he exclaimed, in a voice of thunder, "your horse is too young and his blood is too hot; be good enough to go and cool him in Russia." Three days afterwards, the young man quitted Paris upon his exile, leaving Pauline, for once, in a state of genuine affliction. She sent a messenger once a fortnight to see him and to speak with him, as a letter did not sufficiently tranquilize her. M. de Canouville behaved well and distinguished himself in action. He was accidently killed by the discharge of a cannon after a battle which would have entitled him to promotion. The portrait of Pauline, surrounded with diamonds, was found upon his person; it was conveyed to Murat, who returned it to his sister-in-law.

The inconstant princess, who had already begun to forget her lover in his absence, forgot him completely upon his death. She soon resumed her fashionable career, and plunged with more ardour than ever into the elegant follies of the court. "She was one evening," says Madame Junot, "to represent Italy, in a fancy quadrille, to be danced in the theatre of the Tuileries. She was on that occasion the most perfect embodiment of beauty that can be imagined. She wore upon her head a light casque of burnished gold, surmounted by small ostrich feathers of spotless white. Her bosom was covered with an ægis of golden scales, to which was attached a tunic of India muslin embroidered in gold. The most exquisite part of her appearance was her arms and feet; the former were encircled with bracelets, in which were enchased the most beautiful cameos belonging to the house of Borghese; her little feet were shod with slender sandals of purple silk, the bands of which were gold; at each point where the latter crossed upon the leg, was attached a magnificent cameo. The sash which held the ægis on her bosom was of solid gold, and the centre was ornamented with that most precious gem of the Borghese collection—the dying Medusa; to all this magnificence was added a short dagger, highly embossed with gold and precious stones, which she carried in her hand. Her appearance was that of a fairy apparition, almost without substance, and, as it were, celestial.

"She was, indeed, an elegant nymph. Her statue, by Canova, moulded from herself, is that of an enchantress. It has been asserted that the artist corrected defects in the leg and bust. I have seen the legs of the princess, as I believe all have who were moderately intimate with her, and I have observed no such defects; indeed the perfection of their make may be inferred from her walk; it was slow, because she was an invalid, but the grace of her movements showed that her limbs were happily formed. How finely her head was inclined and how beautifully it turned upon her shoulders!"

She had one physical defect, however, which almost amounted to a deformity. Her ears were too thin—pale pieces of cartilage, without curl or curve. This caprice of nature was more remarkable from the contrast with her lovely features. A rival belle and haughty legitimist, Madame de Contades, who would never acknowledge either Napoleon's glory or his sister's beauty, once mortified Pauline excessively, by calling attention in a ball-room, to this unfortunate disfigurement. She noticed her reclining upon a sofa, under the blaze of a chandelier. "What a pity," she said aloud, "that such a pretty woman should be deformed. I declare if I had such a pair of ears, I would have them cut off." Poor Pauline burst into tears, and soon retired from the room. She revenged herself upon Madame de Contades by calling her a May-pole.

Pauline, who had never liked Josephine, liked Marie Louise no better. Not long after the arrival of the archduchess in France, and her marriage with Napoleon, she took occasion to insult her in a manner so public and insolent that she drew upon herself exile and disgrace. In the midst of the brilliant throng present at an official reception, and behind the back of Marie Louise, she raised her thumb and finger to her forehead, forming there a construction similar to that worn by Falstaff when disguised as Herne the Hunter, and thereby indicating the treatment her brother might expect from his Austrian bride. Marie Louise saw this extraordinary piece of pantomime in a mirror. The company laughed, while Napoleon scowled. He had but lately repudiated his wife, and he now determined to banish his sister. The order to that effect was peremptory, and Pauline withdrew, unabashed and impertinent, to her husband's palace at Rome, where she led a brilliant and careless existence. Don Camillo remained steadfastly at Turin.

Thus far, vice and excess had been the most conspicuous features of Pauline's conduct; she now showed herself capable of heroism, sacrifice and devotion, qualities which the world has a right to expect of those who, though not born, are at least bred, upon the steps of a throne. She had spent the Winter of 1813–14 at Nice, and at Hyeres in the south of France. On the 20th of April, Napoleon left Fontainebleau for Elba, after what has been stigmatized as "a scene of desertion never equalled in any age of the world—tergiversations too hideous to be credible, if not recorded by eye-witnesses." Pauline quitted Hyeres in order to meet him near Frejus; while waiting, she witnessed many of the fearful tumults which were excited by the passage of the "Corsican tyrant." She saw his statues overturned and his life menaced. The brother and sister met at Luc, at two o'clock in the afternoon, on the 26th of April. Napoleon entered the chamber of the princess; she extended her arms, but burst into tears on seeing that he wore an Austrian uniform as a disguise. "Why this uniform?" she asked. "Why, Pauline," returned Napoleon, reproachfully, "would you have me dead?" Pauline looked at him steadfastly, and said, "I cannot embrace you in that dress. Oh, Napoleon, what have you done!" Napoleon withdrew and changed his costume. He returned in the uniform of the Old Guard. Pauline pressed him to her heart again and again, astonishing those who best knew her by this unexpected burst of feeling.

But Pauline could act as well as weep. She, with Madame Mère, followed Napoleon to Elba in October of the same year. She abandoned the frivolities and gaities to which for years she had been accustomed, and devoted herself with untiring energy, to furthering the plans formed for his escape. She placed all her jewels at his disposal: Napoleon never used them; they were in his carriage at Waterloo, which was taken by the Allies, and exhibited for money at London. The diamonds had disappeared, and it was never known into whose hands they had fallen. On the 26th of February, 1815, she gave a ball to the principal personages of Elba, and that very night Napoleon stepped on board the brig l'Inconstant, and weighed anchor for France. Pauline and Napoleon never met again. She returned to Rome and he to Paris, from whence, by way of Waterloo, he passed on to St. Helena.

Don Camillo was now compelled, by the restoration of Piedmont to Austrian rule, to resume his allegiance as a Roman subject. He refused, however, to see or to receive his wife; but the Pope took the matter into his own hands, and appointed a committee of cardinals to decide upon a method of reconciliation. The prince was ordered to share his palace with the princess, and to place one hundred and fifty thousand francs a year at her disposal. He obeyed, but ungraciously, and finally retired to Florence, where he built a palace for his own private use, leaving to her the undivided control of his superb establishment at Rome.

Pauline was still marvellously beautiful, though her health was delicate, and her constitution impaired. She was surrounded with admirers, the most ardent of whom was Lord Brougham. He was admitted to the mysteries of her toilet, and she allowed him to sit upon the floor before her and hold her feet in his hands. He was also permitted, as a great favour, to hand pins to her dressing-maids, when they needed them in the arrangement of her person. "How can you take pleasure," some one asked her, "in the society of men who have imprisoned your brother at St. Helena?"

"Can you not understand," she replied vehemently, "that I enjoy the sight of these men, once so arrogant, now humbling themselves to the dust of my sandals? Can you not see that the complaints of that British peer are sweet music to my soul? He stands for hours to give pins to my waiting maids, because they are to touch my person. He has the courage to confront the caprices of a woman, but he does not dare to speak before his parliament in behalf of that woman's brother, that he may be more kindly treated in his accursed dungeon at St. Helena. And this man hopes that I may love him! And the others hope that I may love them! If I had neither heart nor soul, perhaps I might! Let them love on and suffer the penalty!"

Pauline became convinced in 1821 that Napoleon was dying at St. Helena. She wrote a letter to Lord Liverpool, then prime minister of England, in which she earnestly begged, in the name of all the members of the family, that her brother might be removed to a less dangerous climate. "If so reasonable a request be refused," she said, "it will be pronouncing his sentence of death—in which case I beg permission to depart for St. Helena, to join my brother and receive his last sigh. I feel that the moments of his life are numbered, and I should forever reproach myself if I did not use all the means in my power to alleviate his sufferings and testify my devotion." The Earl of Liverpool granted the latter portion of her request, but too late. Napoleon was already dead at the date of Pauline's appeal.

She now sank into a rapid decline, though she continued to live in a constant whirl of gaiety. Foreigners visiting Rome formed her principal society; they found her receptions and entertainments hospitable, refined and sumptuous. Early in 1825, she went to Pisa for a change of air. It was evident to herself as well as to her friends, that she could not long survive. She now performed the last eccentricity of an eccentric life. Though possessed of no fortune whatever, and living upon the forced bounty of her husband, she composed and executed an imposing instrument which she called her will. In this she made large and numerous legacies, forming in the aggregate a sum of princely magnificence. Don Camillo now recalled her to Florence, where a reconciliation was effected and mutual forgiveness extended. The Princess Borghese expired in the arms of the prince, on the 9th of June, 1825. With a generosity of which he hardly seemed capable, and which she had certainly done nothing to deserve, he recognised and paid the bequests that she had made without consulting or considering the state of his fortune.

Napoleon often mentioned Pauline at St. Helena. He considered her the handsomest woman of her time, and said that artists were accustomed to speak of her as the modern Venus de Medici. When at Nice, she established, he said, a daily line of baggage wagons to and from Paris, to bring her supplies of the newest fashions. "Had I known it," he added, "she would have been soundly scolded. After all, she was the kindest creature in the world."—*Goodrich's Court of Napoleon.*

AMERICAN CHANGES OF NAMES.

While the turbulent struggle of public life in the United States startles or astounds the observer; while election riots, civil war and bloody personal encounters shock the European sense of all that is stable and secure; there are small analogous traits in the quieter pursuits of the American mind that stamp it as the most unsteady of all human combinations. Among these, none is more striking and few are so absurd, independent of political or party versatility, as the mania for the changing of names; not merely of surnames—a thing rarely effected in England, and then only as a necessity, attended by the acquisition of property, by bequest, inheritance, or marriage—but of Christian names also, changed at will, and at the payment of a small fee not always from dishonest designs, but often from mere caprice, good or bad taste, or love of variety—from any motive, in short, that might induce an individual elsewhere to change a house, a horse, or a picture.

This very common custom, besides leading to infinite confusion as to personal identity, the verification of facts, and the title to property among a people so wandering, affords a painful illustration of the little real respect as yet generally prevalent among our cousins for family records or family associations.

In Europe, attachment to a family name is a sacred sentiment. If it has been rendered eminent by an individual, or even reputable by a succession of honest bearers, few would change it, even if they could. It may not be euphonious; yet we are endeared to it for the sake of those by whom its was borne before us. It may not be celebrated; but we hope to preserve it unsullied. It may have been disgraced; and, in that case, we resolve to redeem it from the stain. Even when its change for some other brings an increase of worldly wealth, we feel that the donor who has coupled his gift with the hard condition of displacing our own patronymic for his has "filched from us our good name," and we think that we pay a high price for a good fortune. In fact, it is only in very rare instances of some gross individual infamy, that families abandon their cognomen, except in compliance with the condition of some valuable bequest that forces the change upon an heir or a legatee.

But who in the (old) world would ever, under any circumstances, think of changing his Christian name for any other whatever? Many an Englishman dislikes his familiar appellation, wishes his godfathers and godmothers had had more music in their names, or more forethought for his sensitiveness; but however harsh or ignoble his Christian name may be, he is usually satisfied with it, and cherishes it—even as a parent does an ugly child—in honour of old associations, and as a part of himself.

The general subject of the invention or adaptation of surnames in England is amusing, and instructive too. It has been calculated that there are, in existence among us, between twenty and thirty thousand surnames, derived from almost every possible combination of personal qualities, natural objects, occupations and pursuits, localities, and from mere caprice and fancy. But once established, they are handed down from generation to generation, with respect if not reverence; occasional changes in orthography taking place to hide their original meanness; or, as Camden says, "to molify them ridiculously, lest their bearers should seem villified by them." In America, however, these changes are not confined to slight alterations in spelling, but are adopted bodily and by wholesale.

Levity and conceit are the undoubted chief causes for this perpetual ringing of the changes on names. It would be scarcely possible, in most cases, to trace the custom to any reasonable or respectable motive. The changes themselves are, in the majority of instances, abundantly ludicrous; but the forwardness with which the commonest persons thrust themselves (by implication) into known and well-considered families, and endeavour to identify themselves with eminent individuals, is equally remarkable.

Here are a few examples from the yearly list published by the Legislature of Massachusetts. I should like to have each individual's head subjected to a phrenological examination to ascertain, if it would bear out my notion of the respective characters of those name-changers. The following eight would show a vain-glorious pride dashed with great effrontery:

James Colbert takes the name of Colbert Mortimer; Caleb C. Woodmad, that of Emerson Mortimer; Hazan R. Fitz that of Hazan Wellington; Lyman Cook becomes Lyman Van Buren; Diodate G. Coon takes the name of Diodate Calhoun; John Pickard that of Daniel Webster; Noyes Coker that of Edward Byron; and John Lawrence that of George Washington.

Every one will understand the motives of such a choice—if the choice was to be made—of names so gilded with historic and literary fame as those of Mortimer, Wellington and Byron. But many, many Englishmen are not aware that there are, or have recently been in existence American political celebrities called Van Buren, Webster and Calhoun.

The bump of patriotism must be lamentably deficient in those who abandon the peculiarly national prenomen for any other: as Jonathan Kimball Rogers, who takes that of John K. Rogers, and Jonathan Kendal that of Henry Kendall.

This is like giving up Yanke Doodle for Hail Columbia! the former air smacking of vulgarity and the other having a fine flavour.*

The romantic and lackadaisical developments must be strong in the following young ladies; several of them having abandoned their good old English name—not, be it observed, for the sake of a husband—but evidently under the inspiration of the last sixpenny novel; and, from

Sarah Robbins,	becoming	Adelaide Austin.
Eunice Fellows,	"	Caroline Follows.
Ruth Wadge,	"	Sophronia Bradford.
Sarah Lombard,	"	Amelia Livingstone.
Mary Carter,	"	Aravilla Carter.
Judith Brady,	"	Maria Bray.
Betsy Townsend,	"	Malvina Townsend.
Sally Prescott,	"	Phidelia Prescott.
Alice Hubbard,	"	Alvina Calista Hubbard.
Nancy Tarbox,	"	Almeda Taber.
Rachel Hawkes,	"	Almira Aurelia Hawkes.
Martha Ames (of Saugus),	"	Sabrina Ames (of ditto).

Polly Woodcock drops a syllable, and becomes Polly Wood; and Alice Bottomly, from motives of delicacy, I presume, alters the spelling of her surname to Bothomlee.

But no particular taste for melody can have influenced the spinsters following:

Ann Maria Bean, who becomes		Eliza Patch.
Valeria Pew,	"	Mary Pew.
Serenetha Goodrich,	"	Mary French.
Tryphen Van Buskirk,	"	Francis Coffin.

Miss Clara Frinck cannot be blamed for changing to Clarisa Wilson, or Abby Craw for becoming Abigail Sawtell. Triphena Moore, Derdamia Finney, Othealda Busk, and the Widow Naomi Luddington are unexceptionably elegant and need no change; yet changed they are to other as fanciful appellations. What could have induced Mrs. Betty Henderson (no second marriage giving cause) to change to Betty Grimes? Or where was the occult motive that influenced Philander Jacobs to change to Philander Forrest, Ossian Doolittle to Ossian Ashley; Judathan Calden to Albert Nelson; or Allen Smith to go to the very end of the alphabet and become Allan Izzard?

Under sundry unfathomable influences, Horace Fish and his wife Rhubemah take the surname of Tremont; Curtis Squires that of Pomeroy Montague; William H. Carlton that of Augustus Carlton; Ingebor Janson that of Ingebor Anderson; George Hoskiss that of George Puffer. John Jumper shows good taste by becoming simple John Mason.

Daniel Ames merely changes a letter, and is Daniel Emes. Dr. Jacob Quackenbush, finding his name unwieldy, sinks a couple of syllables and the quack at the same time, and is transformed to Jacob Bush, M. D. Nathaniel Hopkins, betaking himself to rural life, I suppose, becomes Sylvanus Hopkins. But I cannot perceive what John Cogswell gains (except additional trouble) by inserting two more very unmusical monosyllables, and becoming John Beare Doane Cogswell.

I am sorry to perceive that some Irishmen have been infected by the epidemic; and, while renouncing their country, try to get rid of their national distinctions. For instance, Patrick Huges changes to William Hughes; Timothy Leary changes to Theodore Lyman; Mason McLoughlin becomes Henry Mason; and six other persons of his name followed his bad example, a whole branch of the family tree of the McLaughlins is lopped off.

As a pendant to this anti-national picture, a group of five Bulls abandon the honest English patronymic of their common father John, and degenerately change it to Webster.

A good excuse may exist for the family of Straw, the man of it, as well as his wife and seven children (Cynthia, Sophilia, Elvina, Diana, Sophronia, Phelista and Orestus), for becoming so many Nilesos; while another, called Death, petition, through a member named Graves, and are metamorphosed into Mr. and Mrs. and the Misses Dickinson. Masters Asheal G., Jothan P. and Abel S., their sons, also change from Death to Dickinson; but strange to say, retain their villanous prenomens and unmeaning initials.

One Mr. Wormwood, with some fun in him, asks to be allowed to change his name for some other; "certain," as he says, "that no member of taste will oppose his request."

To these instances of ever-shifting alterations, I may add one of a Miss Hogg, who became Miss Howard; of another, a highly-estimable family, the Crowninshields of Marblehead, whose original name was Grunsell; and still another, the former Tinkers, who are the present Buckinghams. So much for them!

In looking at this scanty number of examples, and reflecting that such arbitrary changes are every year taking place over the whole extent of the Union to a very large amount, we may imagine, apart from the absurdity of the custom, the confusion and mischief it occasions. Yet, however strange it appears to us, it is perhaps more wonderful that, considering the faculty of the operation, it is not still oftener practised. A recent American paper tells us of a family in the town of Detroit, whose sons were named, One Stickney, Two Stickney, Three Stickney; and whose daughters were named, First Stickney, Second Stickney, &c, The three elder children of a family near home were named Joseph, And, Another; and it has been supposed that, should any more children have been born, they would have been named Also, Moreover, Nevertheless and Notwithstanding. The parents of another family actually named their child Fiuis supposing it was their last; but they happened afterwards to have a daughter and two sons, whom they called Addenda, Appendix and Supplement.

Whatever exaggeration there may possibly be in these last-quoted instances, there is certainly, in New England as well as in the less established parts of the Union, a curious taste for grotesque, though less startling, combination in names. In what degree fathers and godfathers are responsible for this, or whether existing individuals have capriciously altered their children's Christian and surnames in the present generation, I cannot determine. It is equally puzzling to account, on either hypothesis, for such names as strike the eye on the shop-signs or door-plates, or in the newspapers of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and elsewhere. For instance: Apollo Munn, Quinc